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(*Maharajah of Jeypore and Pro-Chancellor, Andhra University*)

Sri Sri VIJAYARAM GAJAPATHI BAHADUR
(*Maharajah of Vijayanagaram, Visag. Dt.*)

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VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE DAY CONFERENCE, HAMPI

October 13, 14 & 15, 1946.

GOLDEN AGE IN SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY

Tributes to Kings of Vijayanagar

Vijayanagar Empire Day Celebrations, organised by the Andhra Historical Research Society of Rajahmundry, began at Hampi, Prof P. Ramamurthi, M. A. of the Wilson College, Bombay, presiding. A procession, led by the Raja of Anegundi, a lineal descendant of the old Vijayanagar ruling family, who was the Chairman of the Reception Committee, marched from the main bazaar to the Virupaksha temple, where the conference was held.

Volunteers of Karnataka organisations *attempted a black flag demonstration against* what they considered Andhra encroachment on Karnataka area. Mr. Morula Siddayya, Secretary of a Congress Committee, demanded an explanation from the organisers of the conference of the motive in holding their conference in the Karnataka area. Prof. R. Subba Rao, M.A, L.T., M.E.S., (Retd.) Hon. Secretary of the Andhra Research Society stated that the object was neither linguistic nor political, nor anything controversial, but purely historical and literary. *On this assurance, the volunteers stopped their demonstration and took part in the celebrations.*

The Raja of Anegundi, and Mr. Pyda Lakshmayya, President of the Anantapur District Board, welcomed the

delegates and visitors to the conference. Mr. Lakshmayya spoke of the Vijayanagar Empire and its achievements.

Prof. R. Subba Rao, described the origin and progress of the Historical Research Society, and its achievements. The present conference was the fifth held at Hampi. The Society had acquired a habitation on the north bank of the Godavari at a cost of Rs. 18 000, with the aid of a donation of Rs. 13,000 by the Raja of Vijayanagaram. A public library and a free reading-room are being maintained since 1926 for public good.

In the absence of Sir S. V. Ramamurthi, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Mr. K. N. Anantharaman, I.C.S., Collector of Bellary, opened the conference at the request of Prof. Subba Rao. Mr. Anantharaman said that such conferences brought scholars together and enabled them to discuss historical questions and arrive at correct conclusions.

Messages from Mr. K. R. Karanth, Revenue Minister, Vidwan Sri R. Doraswamy Sarma, Sholinghur, Professor T. Achuta Rao, M.A., Madras, Sri K. S. Kamalapur, Secretary, Karnataka Vidyavardhaka Sangha, Dharwar, Mahā Mahopādhyaya Dr Umesha Misra of Allahabad, Sri N. Lakshminarayana Rao, Govt. Asst. Epigraphist, Ooty, Sir S. V. Ramamurthy, I.C.S., Dewan Bahadur, Professor C. S. Srinivasacharya of Annamalai University, Sri P. S. A. Krishnayyer, Secretary, Saurashtra Sabha, Madhura, Kavi Pandit Gadiyaram Venkata Seshayya, Dr. Sir C. R. Reddy, Vice Chancellor, Andhra University, Sri U. V. Sitaramayya, M. R. A. S., Hossur, Sri Sankara Bharata Swamiji, Trustee, Virupaksha Temple, Raja Saheb of Tekkali, Secretary, Bharat Itihasa Parishodkaka Mandal, Poona, Raja K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur, Professor Vissa Appa Rao, Professor R. Anantakrishna Sarma, Professor K. Rangachariyar of Vijayanagaram, Prof. D. Venkata Rao, Anantpur and others were then read after which Prof. P. Ramamurthi delivered the presidential address.

Address of the Reception Committee Chairman

RAO BAHADUR SRI P. LAKSHMAYYA GARU, B.A., B.L.

President, District Board, Ananthapur.

Poets and Pandits, learned in Sanskrit, Andhra, and Kannada and members of the Research Society,

I have pleasure in seconding the Welcome so kindly extended to you by Sri Darbar Krishna Deva Rayalu, Raja of Anegondi, the Lineal successor of the great Vizianagar Emperors.

This is a happy day because we are assembled here to celebrate the greatness of Vijayanagar Empire whose history is well-known to the learned world. We are to commemorate, praise, and assess the various problems connected with this great empire which owed its existence to the able guidance of the Sage Vidyaranya and to the benign Grace of the family deity Sri Tri Bhuvaneswari.

Unmindful of the expense and personal inconvenience, you have come here from distant Bombay, Madras, Rajahmundry and other places and I extend to you on behalf of the Reception Committee our cordial Welcome. Though Sir S. V. Ramamurty, M.A., I.C.S., is unable to be amidst us by unavoidable reasons, his spirit is here and the help he has done for the Tungabhadra Project to make the famine-stricken Royalaseema a rich granary of Andhra Desa will never be forgotten by us. In his place Sri K. N. Anantaraman, I.C.S., is to preside and conduct the proceedings and we are grateful to him for giving his kind and ready consent.

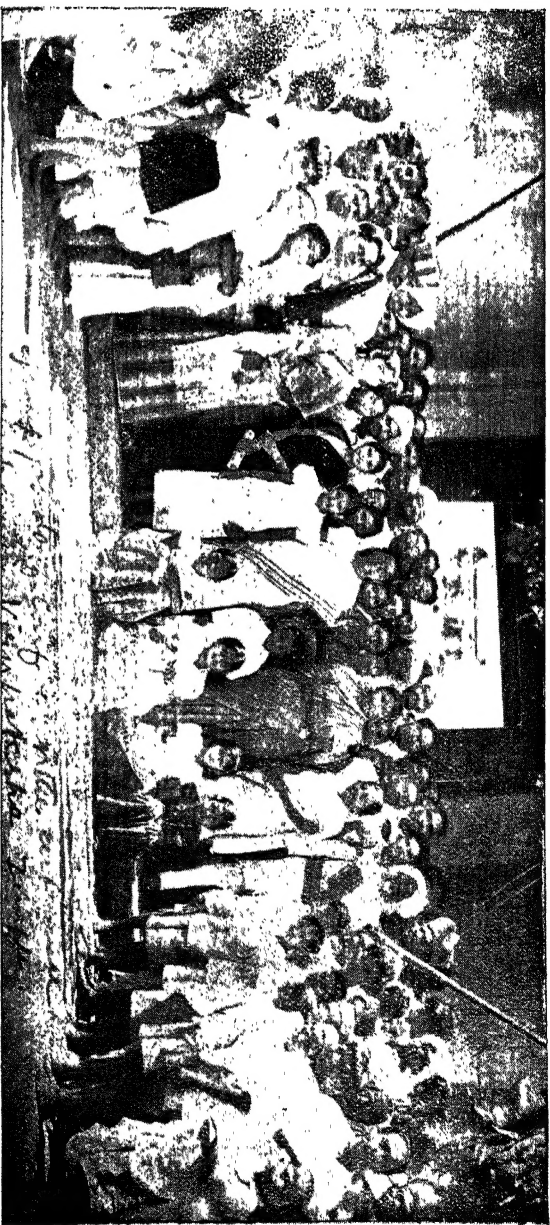
Ladies and Gentlemen! You will be able to see here amidst the ruins of Hampi the remains of Ancient glory. The Thurthu canal built by Bukkaraya II, the Basavanna canal dug at the instance of Sri Krishna Deva Raya, the innumerable Temples, Market Halls, Throne-rooms and other structures built by several kings, the fast-flowing and sweet-watered Tungabhadra, the Holy Virūpāksha temple and several other old and interesting Remains will surely

fill your minds with joy and interest and compensate you fully for the trouble you have taken.

The commemoration of Historical and Cultural events is a great and good thing and will help us to gain knowledge in this world and merit in the other. The Andhra Historical Research Society of Rajahmundry which has already celebrated the Raja Raja Day at Rajahmundry, the Kalinga Day at Mukhalingam, the Kakatiya Day at Warangal, and the Reddi Day at Rajahmundry has done us a great service by celebrating the Vijayanagar Day here. Such an Event will bring home to our minds the greatness of Vijayanagar Empire and its stand for the spread of Hindu culture and civilization and Vedic Dharma at a time when they were about to be destroyed. The city of Vijayanagar is a symbol of all that is great and noble in Hindu culture. It is not for me to dwell on the various problems connected with Vijayanagar History. They are many and delicate. Great historians like you must be able to settle them properly.

The greatest king of Vijayanagar is Sri Krishna Deva Raya in whose time the empire reached its zenith and showed progress in all directions. But with his death, commenced the decline of the empire and the crushing defeat in the battle of Talikota in 1565, paved the way for the fall. Though the successors continued their rule at Penukonda and Chendragiri, the greatness of Vijayanagar could never again shine in its old splendour.

But, let me conclude; it is said that a bath in the Ganges and a drink of Tungabhadra water would make people sacred. This place is called the Southern Benares and this big assembly meeting in the Temple of Sri Virupakshaswamy is significant. You have obtained both *Swārtham* and *Thīrtham*. After bathing in the holy river and after worshipping Sri Virupaksha and Thiribhuvaneswari you are best fitted to take part in the celebrations. As a result of your deliberations, it is hoped something great and good will follow. Once again, I welcome you to this holy and glorious seat of learning.



Conference: Delegates, Visitors & Organisers at the main-gate of Virupaksha Temple, Hampi.

హంపి విఠూపాక్షాలయమున సమావేశమైన విజయనగరశాసన మహాసభ.

Opening Address.

SRI K. N. ANANTHARAMAN, I.C.S.,
Collector of Bellary.

Raja Saheb of Anegondi, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I consider this a very happy day because we are, by God Virupaksha's grace, assembled here to celebrate an event of great historical and literary importance. At the outset, I must say that when I was requested by the Hon. Secretary of the Andhra Historical Research Society of Rajahmundry, Sri Rallabandy Subba Rao, M. A., L. T., M. E. S. (Retd.) an old friend of mine, to open the Historical Conference, I felt diffident to accept the honour but, when he, however, reminded me that I had the privilege of having been the President of the Association for two years, when I was in Rajahmundry, I had no other say but to accept the invitation. Sir S. V. Ramamurthy, I. C. S. had kindly agreed to open the conference, but owing to official duties of great importance, he could not come to open this conference. Sir Ramamurthy also commanded me to shoulder this responsibility. I had, therefore, to accept it and I thank the Society for the honour conferred on me.

2. This society was founded in 1922 and it has already celebrated four historical events and published four commemorative works in Telugu and several Journals of historical research in English. It has also held many historical Exhibitions and it is only in the nature of things that the society should resolve to celebrate this event in memory of the great Vijayanagar Emperors. The Conference and Exhibition are arranged to appeal to the people's mind and to make them cherish all that is great and good in the Vijayanagar rule. Delegates will get good glimpses of the ancient glory of Vijayanagar by carefully examining the ruins and other exhibits. The very object of such a celebration is to impress on the minds of the people, the rich legacy left by the Vijayanagar Empire. A careful examination of the varied sources of Vijaya-

nagar history, will result in an authoritative exposition of the subject. Such conferences will help to assemble scholars, from far and near, at an important place like this, so that they can discuss the several problems connected with this subject and arrive at a correct and true history of the dynasty.

3. Ladies and Gentlemen,—You will excuse me if I present you now with a very brief review of the History of South-India in the period between the 14th and 17th century A. D. When Delhi passed under the control of Md. Bin Tuglak, a bold policy of the Muhammadan expansion of power into South India commenced. Devagiri (now Doulatabad) was made capital. Warrangal, and even the distant Madura had to pass under Muslim Governors. It was at this time that the Hindu reaction to this Muslim expansion appeared in the resistance organized by the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra (Halebid). They realised that the Northern Frontier along the Tungabhadra should be held strongly against the Muslim attacks. The fort of Kampli, 14 miles from Hampi, and Anegondi on the opposite bank of the Hampi, were fortified. The Hoysala power suffered a decline with the death of the last king, Ballala who fell fighting against the Muslims of the South in 1342. Six years before this time, Vizayanagar was founded by Harihara and Bukka with the help of the great Sage Madhava Vidyaranya. It would appear from one opinion, that these brothers were vassals of the Hoysala king; but others maintain that they were Treasurers of the Warrangal kingdom. It is for the scholars who have assembled here to work upon these interesting problems. Even the exact date of the founding of the Vizayanagar Empire is yet to be determined. It is clear that it was founded for the protection of Hindu culture and civilization.

4. I do not propose to take you through the vicissitudes of the Empire, nor describe the events leading to the several usurpations and dynastic revolutions but one point must, however, be emphasized, viz., that the greatest

kings were produced by the 3rd and 4th dynasties and the name of Sri Krishnadevaraya deserves particular mention. The period of conquest and consolidation was naturally followed by the period of the greatest work of reform and reconstruction alround. These kings should be remembered for the patronage they gave to poets and men of learning and for the rich gifts they made in gold and lands to the learned and to several religious institutions in South India. As a matter of fact, even the great shrine of Simhachellam received a substantial gift from Vizayanagar Emperors. And there are valuable jewels presented to the shrine by Vizayanagar Emperors which I had the privilege to see. Krishnadevaraya's reign marks the zenith of the Empire. It was a Golden Age in the history of South India. He has been claimed by the Canarese people, the Telugus, the Thulus, the Tamilians and others as their own national hero. It is only right that all should claim the great Emperor as their own sovereign. A man should certainly love his own mother-tongue and his own culture; but a really cultured man ought to be able to appreciate the greatness in others. If one cares to take into account only the fundamental features, one will see that the broad ideals and cultural outlook of all peoples, from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas are the same. I would even go further and say that there is a lot in common in the ideals of all cultured peoples from whichever part of the Globe they may come from.

5. Sri Krishnadevaraya abolished oppressive taxes, improved communications, re-organised the army, built harbours, divided the country into Provinces and Provinces into Districts and Taluks. It was a highly organised administration, more or less a very perfect system developed on the lines of the Hoyasala and Chola administrations. The reign of Krishnadevaraya, however bore the seeds of dissension and decline. It would appear that the ruthless raids made into Muslim countries finally resulted in combining all the Bahmani Sultans and bringing about the fall of the Vizayanagar Empire, but with the death

of the last king Sree Ranga, the Empire virtually came to a close. Neither would I like to dwell upon the want of religious tolerance prevalent in those days. The lessons of Vizayanagar history must be studied carefully by all students of history so that the future history of the country may be moulded properly.

6. The Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, I must state, is doing a great service to the cause of historical research in South India under the able guidance of Sri Rallabandi Subba Rao, M. A., L T, M. E. S., (Retd.) who is actively connected with it for the past quarter of a century and who quite recently succeeded in acquiring a permanent habitation for the society on the northern bank of the river Godavary at a cost of Rs. 18,000/- I would be failing in my duty, if I do not mention the munificent gift of the Rajasaheb of Vizayanagaram of Vizag District who gave Rs. 13,000/- for the permanent habitation to the society. The society has been maintaining a Public Library, the cost of which may be estimated at Rs. 50,000/- and a Free Reading-room for the benefit of the public at Rajahmundry. It has a Publication Department which has so far published 56 Quarterly journals in English, four Andhra Historical commemoration volumes in Telugu, as a result of similar conferences and exhibitions held in different parts of the country. The idea of holding such meetings is to diffuse a knowledge of historical events amongst the people of those areas. I think you will agree with me when I state that its work is purely historical and literary and that it has nothing to do with any controversial topics of the day. I have personally known the activities of the Society because I was the President of the society for about two years. In our country, we have many learned and cultured men. But if you do not misunderstand me, I would like to point out a very common defect in our "Societies". We have a tendency to divide knowledge into water-tight compartments. Conferences of this sort, stimulate critical study of great historical problems, not only among

professional historians, but among all cultural people. The history of the Vizayanagar Empire generates everlasting hope in the mind of every Indian and makes him feel that Indians have still a very important role to play in the History of the World. With these words, I have great pleasure in declaring the Conference open.

Presidencial Speech.

PROFESSOR PRATAPAGIRI RAMAMURTY, M.A.,
Wilson Collge, Bombay.

Ladies & Gentlemen,

I have to thank you for electing me to preside over this conference. I shall do my best to deserve this honour.

We come from a noble stock. Our fathers have played an imperishable part in history. We are nurselings of immortality, and we are gathered here to register our formal claim to what is our very own noble heritage. This is indeed a great occasion.

Time and again, the affirmative genius of our people asserted itself. Like a weary Titan, their soul staggered on through all the vicissitudes of history, upheld by an unconquerable deathless spirit. As we travel down the 'Corridor of time', the enthralling story unfolds itself. Empires rise and fall. Each has its flowering time, as eventful as it is wonderful. The gorgeous pages of its annals are illumined by the figures of warriors and statesmen, poets and painters, architects and sculptors. Men of thought and men of action, all heroes of an expanding stature, give the people a commanding position among the nations of the day, a hegemony which they maintain by their art and intellect. Then this period of glory passes away. The spirit of the race is eclipsed for a while, the soul entombed in its objective creations, awaiting its resurrection and its day of destiny.

Here indeed is no death but constant renewal. Life proceeds from the portals of Hades, challenging the Fates.

The soul of the people, sphynx-like, rises again and again from the ashes, ushering a new birth, bringing it to the threshold of a richer, larger and nobler life.

The task of the historian is to trace this march of life in its continuous epic. A large part of the story is crowded with battles and wars; but surely not the whole of it. He who denies this stumbles through crimes and follies and brutalities, failing to recognise the true history that reveals the life of our people, abounding with ideals and beliefs, the true history envisaging man as an explorer, setting out on a great adventure, trekking along a rising trail, gradually, and sometimes painfully, uplifting and advancing from savagery to civilization, but ever facing the heights.

It is that story, the fascinating record of human achievement, of man's continuous struggle and gradual ascent, scaling the heights, peak to peak, of culture and civilization, a story in which our past, present and future are inexorably linked in a chain of progress which is our true interest.

We thus trace back through the slumbering wreckage of a forgotten and unrecorded time to pre-history. Neolithic remains have been unearthed by the spade of the excavator at Amaravati, establishing an antiquity of many for more than 5,000 years. It is perhaps no accident that, at the same place, ages hence, a mighty empire with an unrivalled culture, should have found its cradle.

A few miles away from Warangal are to be found the relics of a former age at Veligondili (Elgundal). The disembodied spirit hovered over these familiar haunts until it found a new frame to start another cycle of life. This again, could not have been an accident.

On the banks of the sacred Tungabadra, in the vicinity of our present place of meeting, there flourished the old kingdom of Kampili (Anegondi). When it fell, Vizianagara, the City of Victory rose in its place. This, once again, was no accident.

The life of our people flares up from the smouldering,

undying fire again and again. During each rebirth, their creative spirit blossoms into newer and nobler forms. Their achievements were colossal contributing in no mean measure to the colourful heritage of this hallowed land. Their shrines of art still draw thousands of pilgrims from the distant confines of the earth. They wrought in stone and expressed in colour, bearing witness to a glory that never can fade. They built only as giants could. Their edifices still stand, mocking at time.

Our people, indeed, have made the life and culture of this land what they are. The land is studded with their relics and remains, sacred to us as a cherished legacy. When we contemplate them, at Amaravati, on the crest of Nagarjunakonda, in the cave - chaityas of Ajanta and Ellora, at Nasik and Canheri, at Elgondal and Warrangal, and here at Vijayanagara, our hearts swell with pride, and the desire to uphold the honour of our race.

Can there be a greater spiritual injury done to a people than to ignore and under-estimate the achievements of their fathers? By recognising how great they were, we indeed add a cubit to our own stature.

Let us then realise what it means to claim our inheritance. We claim the heritage of our whole past. Vijayanagara is an epoch, and one of the most eventful epochs.

Every epoch weaves on the background of its material existence what might be described as the patterned tapestry of its spiritual life. The theme might be religion, art and intellect. But it is by the delicacy and the permanence of that pattern, and by that alone, that the nation takes rank in history, not by the number of countries it has enslaved or the battles won.

Literature is pre-eminent in the tapestry of the Vijayanagara Age. It would have been inconceivable otherwise. A nation like ours that had such a glorious record must produce men of thought and letters to perpetuate its memory. Vijayanagara was the only stable Hindu kingdom in India and naturally became the rendezvous of poets and scholars. There were other and minor

Hindu States that also had their poets. One of them claimed the brilliant and versatile Srinatha. But the absolute security, and the long period of unchallenged sovereignty that Vijayanagara enjoyed, and its unparalleled greatness, its unlimited resources of patronage and protection, all led to a wonderful efflorescence of human genius that made the epoch the greatest age in Telugu literature.

It was an age of royal authors. One of them was famed as "Sarvajña", the omniscient. Another has been compared with Caesar for the delightful memoirs he has left behind. But the greatest of them has yet to find his place amongst the foremost of all time.

History has given him place among its immortals. He is one of the great conquerors whose exploits fill its annals. He is a ruler of men born to grace a throne, acclaimed a great statesman by men from far and near who thronged his magnificent court. But he himself set store on other values. He had his measuring rod of greatness and glory. We have an idea of it in the words which Allasani Peddanāmatya places in the mouth of his sovereign. Krishna Deva sent for the poet and commissioned him to write a book and dedicate it to him so that his name would live for all time, as if he had not already forged an indelible name in the pages of history as a conqueror and a ruler! An indomitable warrior, he nevertheless knew the transience of the glory won by the sword. He yearned for the perpetuation that only the pen could bestow by its imperishable record. His deeds might be forgotten after him, but not so the work he might leave behind as a legacy to the race. He himself wanted to live in his works. His *Āmuktamālyada* is a gem of rare excellence, and our literature would be so much the poorer had it never been written. Krishna Deva is a poet of compelling merit and quality, but he is not a lone writer among the royal personages of Vijayanagara. There were others too, and even princesses of the blood royal have left indelible marks on the letters of the time.

It is the persistent instinct of man to create a world of beauty and people it with the denizens of his phantasy with forms more real than living men being their prototypes somehow clothing themselves with the flesh of circumstance. The poet's fancy may take wing like the glad bird across the firmament but is inevitably conditioned by the environment and conditions in his life. He cannot help importing something of the social *ethics* and the moral tone of his age into his compositions which thus constitute an invaluable help as much to the sociologist as to the historian of civilization.

Religion, too, is impressed in the theme of our history. Indeed, the age itself is not primarily religious in the sense that it produced new prophets and new creeds. But it stabilised and gave depth to aspiration. It reconciled and healed sectarian strifes in the absolute tolerance extended to all faiths. The Muslims, too were allowed to build their mosques and worship after their own mode. Even their acts of desecration came to be condoned, as in the case of the famous Babaya Darga of Penukonda, which was richly endowed with land and villages by the Emperors of Vijayanagara for its maintenance. Kani Mangammal of distant Madura gave grants to this shrine which became an object of veneration to the Hindus as much as to the Muslims.

The Soul of Vijayanagara, was indeed in quest of immortality and in its ardent pilgrimage was prepared to frequent the temple, church and mosque, the abodes of saints and fakirs. God is worshipped in every shrine and through every tongue. But the questioning soul of Vijayanagara knew what it wanted, the infinite in man and without, the intangible behind the sensuous, gross and palpable. How symbolic is the wooing choice of the fair damsel, the daughter of Vishnu Chitta, who throws the garland of flowers round the neck of the Eternal Lord! Here then is no unnatural divorce between the human and the divine, but the happy wedding of the earth with heaven in its spontaneous self-surrender or re-union.

But the earth must first be decked with celestial bridal beauty before it can aspire heavenward. The poets and artists of the age did not, for nothing, then become lovers of the beautiful and worship beauty endowing it with countless forms, literary, artistic, and architectural. That is why, living eagerly in the material world, they were not materialists. They transcended the mere material, having caught its rhythm and sensed its tune and its stop. Whatever the theme, love or devotion, they taught the great lesson that the only good things are the goods of the soul.

This is especially seen in their architecture, in the breadth of its vision. The architects of Vijayanagara were apt pupils of the master builders of old, but adopted their inherited art to newer and fresher forms. Their creations, especially the skyscrapers built to the majesty of God, tried to catch in enduring form, beauteous and grand, the infinite, universal, unlimited and intrinsically divine. The sensuous was duly subservient to the spiritual, to the limitless idea. The temple is not a gorgeous phantasy but a stately and majestic abode of the deity-God incarnate in form and substance.

Taken all in all, then, our fathers were the architects of a glorious destiny and unrivalled culture. Something of human imperfection, it is true, clings to their achievements. Thus it is with their political and social institutions. The problems of administration and Empire, at all times, are complex and baffling. No political edifice can stand unless it is sustained by the facts of the social order. To establish a congruence between them so that the political constitution shall co-ordinate, correlate, and synthesise all the conflicting forces in society in the unity of a common corporate life is a task before which the boldest statesmanship may well quail! And we will not be detracting from the worth of the achievements of our fathers of the Vijayanagara Age by confessing their failure. In a sense, the problem they had to face is still our problem, and we today have not yet found its solution.

It is the problem of seeking and attaining Unity in a pluralistic world of bewildering multiplicity and conflicting social facts. All classes of inhabitants must find the fulfilment of their life's ideals in the service of the State which sheds its exclusive and monopolistic character and becomes a universal partnership. To reconcile discordant elements, to still the spirit of faction and strife, and to weld together the diverse and warring peoples of the land into a mighty nation, the rulers must rise above creed community and race, and hold the scales of justice even between all classes, races and faiths. Empires indeed are rarely retained by the qualities by which they are born. This is a universal inexorable law. And Vijayanagara is no exception to it. No wonder then that it too went the way that other Empires had taken in World History.

We are, however, grateful to our fathers for what they were and for what they have bequeathed to us. Our life and culture would have been much the poorer but for their legacy. This legacy is not to be valued in terms of our physical existence. Indeed our ethnic make-up has been slowly changing through all the centuries and any claims that we may now enthusiastically put forward may both be unscientific and anachronistic. But we believe that the common heirship in the things of the spirit makes a much surer bond of union than common heirship in the things of the body. And it is that heritage which has brought us together this day to this noble and sacred place to pay our homage and to claim our inheritance.

This is an occasion for joy and pride. This is an occasion too for reverent sacrificial vows. Let us, as we plunge into the sacred waters of the Tungabadra, remember the glory that once was Vijayanagara, and realise the weight of the mantle that has descended upon our shoulders to receive and pass on the torch to the generations yet to come. And let us do this in no light mood but mindful of our privilege to walk in the path that our fathers had trod, following the trail of those giants who have left behind "foot-prints in the sands of time".

Historical Exhibition.

In the evening, at 5 P. M., Sri K. N Ananta Raman, I. C S, Dt Collector, Bellary opened the Exhibition after congratulating the Society on its excellent collection of exhibits comprising of Copper-plate Inscriptions of Eastern Chalukyan and Eastern Ganga kings as well as of Vizianagar kings who ruled over the Andhra area from the 6th century A. D. to the 16th century A. D. The Society has been maintaining an excellent Museum at Rajahmundry and there are large coin collections of Andhra-Satavahana kings, Salankayanas Eastern Gangas, Yadavas, Kakatiyas, Vizianagar kings as well as of Bahamani, Mughol and E. I. Co. Rulers. A scrutiny of Exhibits was then made by the Delegates and Visitors. The ladies were particularly interested in examining the gold coins of E Ganga, Yadava and Vizianagar kings. Palm-leaf Manuscripts, Photos of ancient Temples, Buddhist Chaityas and Caves and of aboriginal tribes like the Koyas, Savaras and Chenchus, Pottery and other ancient relics of archaeological interest gave much satisfaction to the public. At the instance of Mr. A. K. Balasundaram, B. A, L. T, Bellary Dt. Bd. Ed. Officer, the oil paintings and other Exhibits of the Hampi Hemakuta Vidyaranya Asramam were also exhibited for the benefit of the public and the thanks of the Society are due to them

After this function, Group photos of the Conference and of the Exhibition were taken. On Monday, 14th Oct '46, the Historical, Literary and Music conferences were held under the Chairmanships of Messrs Dr. P. Srinivasachari, M. A. PH. D., Principal, S R R. College, Bezvada, Dr C. Narayana Rao, M. A L. T., PH. D. Retd. Professor of Languages, Govt. Arts College, Anantapur and Prof. M. Chayappa, M. A, L T., M. E. S. (Retd.), Principal, Veera saiva College, Bellary, respectively. On Tuesday, 15th October 46, the Delegates and Visitors went on an excursion to Hampi Ruins. They examined in detail the several temples and other buildings.

The nights were spent with the excellent music provided by the party relating to the "Andhra Gana Kala Parishad of Rajahmundry".

Conclusion.

The Conference came to a close with a vote of thanks and "*Mangalam*" on the night of 15th October 1946. The Secretary of the Society, Sri Rallabandy Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., M.E.S. (Retd.), offered the most heartfelt thanks on behalf of the Society to Sri Sonthi Venkata Ramamurty, M.A., I.C.S., for his kindly consenting to preside and conduct the proceedings. He was obliged to cancel the visit at the last moment, owing to a sudden change in his programme but his message, "I trust that the conference will have a successful session with Mr. Anantharaman opening it instead of myself", was very inspiring and helpful. The Society is under deep debt of gratitude to Sri K. N. Anantaraman, I.C.S., for all that he did for the Society in general and for the Conference in particular. The Secretary also expressed his most grateful thanks to one of his old pupils, namely, Sri A. K. Balasundaram, B.A., L.T., D.B.E.O., Bellary, without whose personal help for several weeks and earnest zeal and real thirst for knowledge, the function would not have been the good success it was. The Secretary also expressed his cordial thanks to the Raja of Anegondi not only for his munificent donation but also for his kindly venturing to open the Conference in person, to Professor Prathapagiri Ramamurty, M.A., for his consenting to be the President of the Conference at much personal inconvenience and also for his bringing a party of Bombay University students to attend the function, to Messrs. Dr. P. Srinivasachary, Dr. C. Narayana Rao and Prof. M. Chayappa for presiding and conducting the several sectional meetings, to the Temple trustees for giving permission for procession and also for holding conference in the Virupaksha temple and also for defraying expenses for one day, to the several Donars and in particular to the Hospet Sugar Factory Managers for giving donation and for placing their motor vehicles at the disposal of the Conference authorities and last but not least, to the several Members of the Reception Committee and other Gentlemen who helped to make the function a good success. Prayers were offered to God Virupaksha.

RECENT HISTORICAL CELEBRATIONS AT HAMPI, THE MEDIAEVAL HINDU IMPERIAL CAPITAL OF SOUTH INDIA.

by

SRI A. K. BALASUNDARAM, B A , L.T.,
(District Board Educational Officer, Bellary.)

In commemoration of the 600 years (Sex-Centenary) of the Foundation of the Vijayanagar Empire, on the 25th December 1946 and the subsequent three days, the *Sex-Centenary was celebrated*. Historical and Literary Conferences and Historical Exhibition were then held at Hampi, the scene of similar congregations in the palmy days of Vijayanagara. The cultural achievements of Vijayanagar which had the whole of South India under its suzerainty made a natural appeal to the Indians alike and the idea of celebrating this august function appealed to other Provinces as well. But the organisers were mostly from the Bombay Presidency.

The *Vijayanagara Sex Centenary Commemoration Volume* was published in English by the Karnataka Historical Research Society, Dharwar. Kanarese and Marathi versions of this volume have also been published. This volume will enable the reader to have some glimpses of the rich cultural achievements of that great Hindu Empire.

No doubt, the Sex-Centenary celebration is a landmark in the recent history of Vijayanagar. But beyond the publication of Sex-Centenary Commemoration Volume, it left nothing at Hampi proper as a fitting memento to inspire every visitor to Hampi and make him realise that he is treading on holy and inspiring ground hallowed by venerable memories and associations.

To supply the above-mentioned omission, five years later, the unveiling ceremony of Shri Krishnadevaraya's Cement statue was performed at Kamalapur, on the out-

Shrimant Sarkar Maharaj Yeswant Rao Hindu Rao Ghorpade, Ruler of Sandur State, unveiled at the *Vijayanagar Library*, Kamalapur, the life-size cement bust of *Shree Krishnadevaraya* presented by the brother of Shree Darbar Krishnadevaraya, Rajah of Anegondi Samsthan a scion of the illustrious Rayas of Vijayanagar and a living link of the worthy past, on 1—6—1941.

The Ruler of Sandur after unveiling the Bust spoke thus:— * “It is most appropriate that the name of such an illustrious Emperor should be perpetuated in the precincts of his capital in this sacred land hallowed by the presence of the sage Madhavacharya Vidyaranya.

It is very necessary that we should keep alive in the minds of people, and it is our sacred duty to carry forward for the benefit of posterity, the memories of the heroes who have made history in the past, and who have, like the great Emperor Krishna Devaraya and Chatrapthi Shri Shivaji Maharaj, the founder of the great Maratha Empire, which in its zenith comprised almost all India, been redoubtable champions of Hindu faith, religion and culture. India has to be unremittingly reminded and constantly kept informed of the towering personalities, who have shaped the destinies of our Motherland in the past, and have passed on this invaluable heritage to us, so that we and our posterity might emulate their glorious example and keep up the torch of our ancient traditions and culture in all its undimmed glory. A nation which has no respect for its past, and which is oblivious of its past culture and civilisation commands no respect from its neighbours.

If the teaching of Indian History in our Schools and Colleges should serve any useful purpose, it should place before us in their proper perspective the heroic deeds of our ancestors, and thus help to give a new orientation to our existence, and make us more virile, powerful and useful to our motherland. We need not look elsewhere for inspiration; our Motherland can boast of persons, in

* Only a part of the speech is reproduced here.

every walk of life, soldiers, statesmen, scientists and administrators who are second to none in the world. Let our teachers tell about them to our future generation, and inculcate in them the well deserved respect for the past. It is by means of textual instruction and symbolic representations like the one we are unveiling today, and maintaining in tact the relics of the past, and by collecting and suitably imparting knowledge of our folklore, and by celebrating the anniversary of the birth of our national heroes that we can keep alive in the mind of the nation the respect for the past, which is the only dynamic force that can impel the nation to develop on healthy and rational lines, and thus speed us on to our goal I fervently hope and wish that the pleasant function which I am performing to-day will be one of the milestones in the progress of this institution, which, I hope, would be a great source of inspiration not only to the neighbourhood but to every one who happens to visit Hampi."

Mr. S. R. Vattam read his paper on the life of KRISHNADEVARAYA in English with the following preamble:-

"It is indeed an unique occasion when a most popular and enlightened ruling Prince, like His Highness the Raja Sahab of Sandur, in the royal presence of another Prince united in blood with the illustrious Rayas of Vijayanagar has been graciously pleased to come down to these parched up plains in this trying hot weather from the cooler, restfull, and refreshing heights of the hills, to perform in his august person the "commemoration" of the greatest and the most illustrious Emperor of Vijayanagar, Sri Krishnadevaraya by the installation of this bust at this most appropriate spot, the entrance to the Ruins. This unique confluence of three princely associations in this function to my mind appears to be as sacred in its character as the confluence of the Triveni in the Holy Ganga. It is in the fitness of things that the memory of an emperor who achieved imperishable glory not only in the arts of war, but also in the arts of peace, who not

only knew how to bring down inimical rulers on their knees, but also to bend down himself on his knees to honour a poet, that memory of such an Emperor should be commemorated by the hands of the Raja Saheb himself.

The visitor to the Ruins is struck at the very entrance with the halo that seems to hover over the entire area. The term 'RUINS' applies only to the mortal remains of the Empire City. Even these by their sheer association with things supernatural seem to be living as ever, actually pulsating with life, to those who can see through them. It is not mere sentiment that sees things transcendental in these Ruins. This is the land thrice blessed. Nature and art, epic and history have combined to confer on this chosen 'Punya Kshetra' a peculiar sanctity that hedges divinity itself.

Sri Krishnadevaraya was handsome in build, had a noble presence, attractive manners and strong personal influence almost compelling in their command over those about him. He led his armies in person and yet was a poet himself and a great patron of literature. The most remarkable and perhaps the brightest feature of his reign was his learned Court in which were gathered a galaxy of poets and pandits who have made enduring literature. It was as much an Empire of Political States as an Empire of learning. The Raya being himself a poet of no mean repute, gathered about him the most inspired and learned poets of the time.

Where the mighty Krishna Devaraya held his Court in all the pomp and glory of his greatness and where his lovely Queens lightly trod in all the grace and grandeur of their beauty, there, now, monkeys hold durbars, squirrels dart about, and snakes leisurely bask in the sun.

King Bhoja of the South as Sri Krishnadevaraya was reputed to be thus ruled for full 20 years an Empire which marked the brightest era in history in great granduer and magnificience which no Emperor knew before and passed away in 1530 in the full plenitude of his pomp and glory, leaving behind monuments enduring to his

greatness in sculpture and art and unfading memories of all that was best, beautiful, bountiful, noble, cultured, mightiest, gentle, generous, dignified, fearless, and never failingly victorious.'

- After an interval of five more years in 1946, the need was felt for a permanent organisation under the management of an influential, representative Committee to afford necessary facilities and enlightenment to the Visitors to Hampi to study the history, art, architecture and sculpture of Vijayanagar period and to co-ordinate the educational, aesthetic, economic and social work done by other associations, under the name of '*Vijayanagara Vidyaranya or Rayalaseema Organisations.*'

Vidyaranya Vigjñana Samithi, Hospet was formed in 1946 with its effective branch at Hampi Bazar, which in medieval times hummed busily with wares from all parts of the Empire and from abroad, under the name of "*Hemakuta Ashrama.*"

In Hemakuta Ashrama, there is a fine library with the necessary books on 'Vijayanagar', large scale wall guide-maps, miniature fret work models of Ruins, Pictures, portraits and oil-paintings. The following three oil paintings illustrating Sri Krishnadevaraya's patronage of Literature and Learning and the Oil painting of Sri Vidyaranya Swami are note-worthy in Hemakuta Ashrama.*

1. Krishna Devaraya himself invested the poet-laureate, Peddana with the royal gold chain of honour ('Gandapenderam') on his feet as befitting him best.
2. Krishna Devaraya himself gave his helping hand to lift the palanquin with the poet Peddana in it, on the occasion of the procession of the dedication of his master piece 'Manucharitra' along the streets of the Empire City.
3. Happening to meet the poet Peddanna, Krishna Devaraya halted his state-elephant and gave him a lift,

* Vide photo prints of the same published now.

4. Sri Vidyaranya Sawmi with his brother Sayanachari and the monarch Devaraya II.

At the invitation of Vidyaranya Vigjñana Samithi (Hampi Hemakuta Asrama) sixty persons of the 36th Madras Provincial Educational Conference, after the conclusion of its three days sessions at Bellary, belonging to all Castes and Creeds including a Muhammadan High School Head Master representing the various educational institutions of South India undertook a trip to Hampi on the morning of 18th May 1946. Then, Sri A. K. Balasundaram, convener of the Excursion Committee of the Provincial Educational Conference explained the glory and grandeur of Vijayanagar Empire and its Literature with a reference to Sri Krishnadevaraya, the '*Crest Jewel*' of kings and mankind, who had the dignity of sovereignty as '*Defender of faith*' and to his unique popularity and admirable religious toleration. He brought out clearly how the Vijayanagar monarch conquered the lords of the Eastern, Southern and Western Oceans, and ruled from his one-million-populated Imperial capital of "*Dedya*" noted for "*Vijaya*" (the ancient Kishkinda or Pampakshetra), which was the haven of all the persecuted refugees, south of the Vindhyas, and the centre for the preservation of the Hindu Society, its traditions, its ancient Dharma and architecture, and which caused for two and half centuries of the medieval times all the kings, south of the Kristna to Cape comorin (lands of the Karnatakas and Tamils) to prostrate as the feudatories, and to assemble in large numbers at the Throne platform or Dasara Dibba during the nine nights, (Navaratri) Festival to pay their annual tribute in cash other than the military quota in men to the Emperor, besides a pompous display of their forces.

The President of the Provincial Educational Conference Sri M. S. Ekambara Rao, then installed the life-size cement bust near the '*Vijayanagara*' Library in 1941 on the pedestal under construction out of the Conference contribution, in front of Kamalapur Travellers' Bungalow, on the outskirts of Hampi Ruins.

He made a stirring appeal in Kanarese to the people assembled to make this a great Centre of light and learning in Karnataka area, and the holding of the Provincial educational conference and the installation of the Cement Bust of Shri. Krishnadevaraya in their midst will inspire them to revive the past Vidyapita of Vidyanarya. He added that with the advent of the Tungabhadra Irrigation Project and Hydro-Electric Scheme nearby there was great future and he pictured to their minds the revival of the prosperity of the Old Vijayanagar period.

Vizianagar Day Celebrations, October 1946.

The Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry which had been attempting to celebrate the Vijayanagar Day for the past 3 years sought the aid of the Vidyanarya Vigjñana Samithi for holding a Historical Conference and Exhibition at Hampi. As this was in consonance with the objects of the Samiti, it volunteered to do its best for the functions of the Research Society at Hampi irrespective of the language controversy. Then, the A. H. R. Society, Rajahmundry presented a complete set of its old journals and under-took to continue its contact with the Hemakuta Ashrama Library by sanctioning its journals free of cost to it. On the 13th of October 1946, amidst scenes of great enthusiasm, the Vijayanagar Empire Day was celebrated at Hampi under the auspices of the Rajahmundry Andhra Historical Research Society (Vide Picture of Procession in Hampi Bazar on 13—10—46).

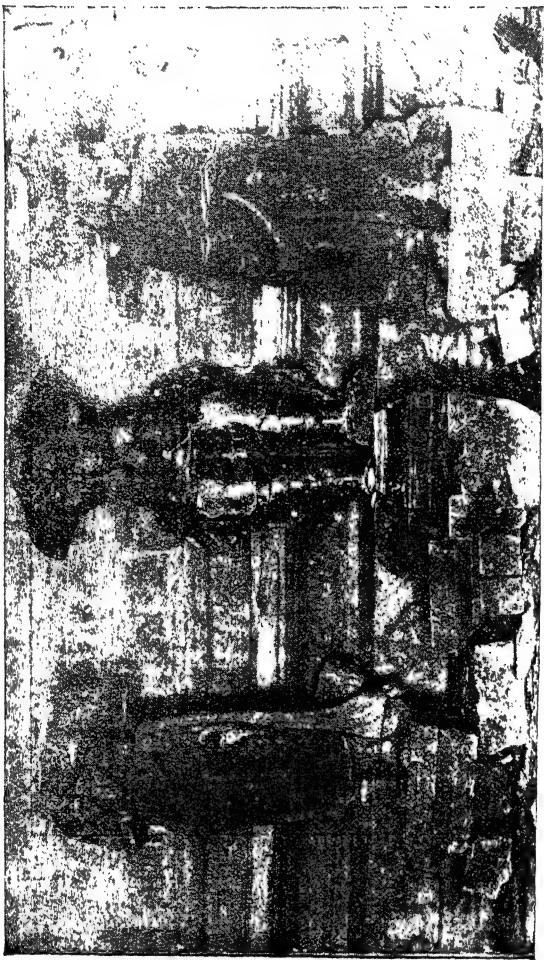
In the centre are Sri K. N. Anantharaman Esq., I.C.S., Opener of the conference, Shri Darbar Krishnadevaraya, Rajah of Anegondi Samasthanam, Chairman of the Reception Committee and Sri Rallabandy Subba Rao, Secretary of the Society and the Convenor of the Conference.

There was a large gathering of Delegates and Visitors. The General President of the Conference Prof. Sri P. Ramamurty, M.A., brought with him a batch of 40 post-graduate students from his Wilson College, Bombay. They entertained the audience with Sports and Dances (Vide Picture)



Sri Krishnadeva Raya of Anegondi, Prof. Ramamurthy, Prof. R. Subba Rao,
Dr. P. Sreenivasachari and Sri K. N. Anantaraman I.C.S.

ఆనెగొండి రాజు శ్రీకృష్ణదేవరాయలు, శ్రీయుతులు పి. రామమూర్తి, ఆర్. కుబ్జారావు,
పి. శ్రీనివాసాచారి, కె. ఎన్. అనంతరామన్.



Vithala Temple - Krishna Raya and his Queens.
విఠలదేవాలయం దలి క్షణరాయ, రాణాల శిలావిగ్రహములు.

The other delegates included the members of Rajah-mundry Gāna Kala Parishit and Andhra Vidya Pitham and a group of Madras University Research Students and Members of A. H. R. Society.

A batch of about a hundred Kannada youths from Bellary and Kottur, as a protest, organized a sort of counter conference in the first Court-yard of Virupaksha Temple, the avenue of the Historical Conference under reference. But when, by the statement of the Hon. Secretary they were convinced that the Andhra Historical Conference was purely historical and cultural and that it had no linguistic or political objectives, they participated in the proceedings of the conference. At a later stage, Sri B. Marulasiddayya, the leader of Kannada youth organisation, expressed the 'hope that the Andhra-Karnataka amity forged at the celebration would be strengthened in futures.' The renowned Kannada poet and actor, Sri Joludarasi Doddana Gowd in melodious tones sang the songs of the Splendour of Vijayanagara Empire.

After the Rajah of Anegundi and Sri Pydi Lakshmayya, President of Anantapur District Board welcomed the guests, Sri K. N. Anantharaman, I.C.S., District Collector, Bellary, declared the Historical Conference open and Prof. Prathapagiri Ramamurthi, M.A., delivered his presidential address. (Vide Picture)

Sri K. N. Anantharaman, I. C. S., read his address before opening the Historical Conference and the Rajah of Anegundi and President of the Conference and the Hon. Secretary of the A. H. R. Society and Section Presidents were seated on the Dias of the decorated pandal.

The same 13th October evening, at Hampi, the historical Research Exhibition comprising of old coins in lead and gold, copper-metalled plates and edicts, copies of inscriptions etc, was opened by Sri K. N. Anantharaman, I.C.S., who expressed the hope that the seed of good will and culture thus sown here would bear ample fruit in Rayalaseema and several such Historical Research Societies would be springing up all over the country.

The next day, the Conference of the Literary Section was held. Its President, Dr. Chilukuri Narayana Rao, M.A., PH.D., L.T., Retired Professor of Languages, Anantapur said:—

“The output of literature both in Telugu and Kannada under the Vijayanagar Emperors was huge, vast and varied. It is high time an earnest effort was made at least now to preserve and conserve that literature, which is fast passing into oblivion.” He then announced that he would donate his personal collection of inscriptions and 600 palm-leaf manuscripts, and copper-plates to the Andhra Historical Society, the Secretary of which Sri Rallabandy Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., M.E.S., (Retired), accepted the gift and promised to form an Oriental Manuscripts Library in the name of the generous donor.

The same day the Historical and Music Conferences met under the President-Ships of Dr. P. Srinivasa Chari, Principal, S. R. R. and C. V. R. College, Bezawada and Sri Chayappa, Principal of Veerasaiva College, Bellary respectively at Hampi.

The Third Day of the Conference, i.e. the 15th October '46, was set apart for the visit of Hampi Ruins by different batches.

To mark this Historical Occasion, the Rajahmundry A. H. R. Society will publish in Telugu a Costly Commemoration Volume called 'VIJAYANAGAR SANCHIKA'. In addition to this, the Society's Historical Journal will give in English a full account of the Vijayanagar Empire Day Celebration and that of the Conferences of Historical, Music and Fine Arts Sections held at Hampi with grand success for three days from 13th to 15th October 1946.

Besides these valuable publications, The Historical Research Society has proposed to put up a memorial railing all round the pedestal of Sri Krishnadevaraya's statue at Kamalapur as a fitting memento of its celebrations at Hampi.

RAYALASEEMÁ

by

DIWAN BAHADUR T. BHUJANGA RAO, M.A., B.L.

(Retired District Judge, Madras Civil Service)

Rayalaseema.

For over ten years the word *Rayalaseema* is being used as denoting the area covered by the five districts of Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Chittore. An enquiry into the meaning of the word *Rayalaseema* and the propriety of its application to the area above mentioned may therefore be found interesting.

Meaning of "Rayalaseema"

The word *Rayalaseema* in Telugu means the '*Seema*' of the *Rayalu*. Brown's Telugu-English Dictionary (published in 1854) shows that the word '*Seema*' is used in two ways, *first* as meaning 'country or district' in general and *second* as meaning 'home-land or native country.' As for the word *Rayalu*, Brown says as follows under the heading *Rayadu*:—"Its plural *Rayalu* was the title assumed by the last Telugu dynasty, the Kings of Vijayanagaram." Thus, according to Brown, the word *Rayalu* is used sometimes to mean 'the Vijayanagar Kings generally', and sometimes to mean the 'Kings of the last Telugu dynasty of Vijayanagar', that is, the dynasty known as the Āravidu Dynasty. On what Brown based this view is not clear; but the usage in his day must have been as he says.*

The word *Rayalaseema*, as now generally used, does not mean 'the country or territory of the Vijayanagar Kings in general.' because that territory would comprise the entire Presidency of Madras the whole 'of which was under the rule of the great *Krishnadevaraya* (of the third or Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagar). The word *Rayalaseema*

* Even to-day the Raja of Anegondi signs his name with the ending RAYALU.

is used now only in a restricted sense, so as to mean 'the country proper of the last line of Vijayanagar Kings.'

Propriety of the Application of the word to the Area comprising the Ceded Districts and Chittore

Having dealt with the meaning of the word '*Rayalseema*', I shall proceed to consider the propriety of its application to the area comprising the five districts of Bellary, Anantapur, Chittore, Kurnool and Cuddapah.

Bellary District

I shall first take up the district of Bellary. The Āravidu line really commences with *Aliya Rama Raja*, the son-in-law of the great king *Krishnadevaraya*. It is true that *Aliya Rama Raja* acknowledged the titular rule of *Krishnadava Raya*'s nephew *Sadasiva Raya*, and that, for legal and constitutional purposes, the Aravidu line commences with *Rama Raya*'s younger brother *Tirumala Raya* in whose time, according to *Father Heras*, *Sadasiva Raya* met his death. But for practical purposes we may take it that *Aliya Rama Raja* was the first ruler of the Aravidu dynasty. In fact, there seems to be some evidence to show that *Aliya Rama Raja* went through a "ceremony of enthronement" and was called the Emperor in various inscriptions. (See pages 37 and 38 of Vol. I, *Aravidu Dynasty by Father Heras*). Now, this *Rama Raja* ruled at Vijayanagar in the Bellary District till he fell in the battle of *Raksas-Tagdi* (generally known as the battle of *Talikota*). His younger brother *Tirumala Raya* tried to repopulate Vijayanagar and even ruled there for a short period. It is true that *Tirumala* removed the capital later on to *Penukonda* in the Anantapur District. But, as *Father Heras* says (at page 243, Vol. I), "several petty chiefs and governors of the north of the Empire, either through fear of the Muhammadans or on account of their own ambition, proclaimed themselves independent in their cities or fortresses." To the last, the Aravidu Kings called themselves *Karnata Kings*, i.e., Kings of old Vijayanagar in the Bellary District. They called the new capital 'Vijayanagara-

Penukonda.' (See Heras, Vol. I, p. 238). In fact, some historians give the name of 'Karnata dynasty' to the Aravidu line. The Bellary District can therefore be properly called a part of the *Seema* of the *Rayalu*, being the district containing the capital lost to them.

Anantapur District

Proceeding next to the Anantapur District, it contained the new Imperial capital, viz., Penukonda. The area to the north of Penukonda was taken by the Muhammadans by 1580 A.D. This fact, as well as the rebellion of local chiefs, made the kings remove the capital to Chandragiri in the Chittore District. (See pages 308 to 310 of Vol. I of Heras) Anantapur has thus the right of calling itself a part of the *Seema* of the *Rayalu*.

Chittore District

As for the district of Chittore, the town of Chandragiri in that district was the last capital of the Aravidu Kings. The Chittore district was thus the *Seema* of their last days.

Kurnool District

I shall now proceed to the district of Kurnool. To the question as to whether in any special way it was connected with the Aravidu dynasty, the answer must be in the affirmative. The grandfather of Aliya Rama Raja was one Araviti Rama Raja, son of Araveti Bukka. It is stated in the Kurnool District Manual (at page 27) that Araviti Rama Raja was a general under Krishnadevaraya's father, that at the latter's instance Araviti Rama Raja drove Yusuf Adil Savoi (the Sultan of Golkonda* born at Savoi in Persia) from Kurnool, and that he (Araviti Rama Raja) subsequently got Kurnool as a Jaghir from the Raja of Vijayanagar. The above defeat of the Savoi is also referred to in the Telugu poem *Ramarajeeyamu* of Venkayya where the poet says (in verse No. 208—quoted at p. 104 of S. K. Aiyangar's *Sources of Vijayanagar History*) that Araviti Rama Raja made Kandanavolu

* 'Golkonda' in the Manual seems to be an error for 'Bijapur.'

(Kurnool) his Capital. It is stated in the same work that Araviti Rama Raja's father Arviti Bukka married one Abbaladevi, a daughter of the chieftain of Nandyala (in the Kurnool District) and that his descendants through her ruled as feudatory chiefs at Nandyal. Dr. S. Krishna Swamy Iyengar in his '*Sources of Vijayanagar History*' (at p. 16) says that Aliya Rama Raja and his brothers were in charge of the districts of Adoni, Gooty, Penukonda, Gandikota and Kurnool during the days of Krishna-devaraya, and that those districts "seem to have been all along in their special charge." Everything points to the conclusion that the district of Kurnool was the principality of the Aravidu Rulers before they became the Emperors of Vijayanagar. Even after the Sultan of Bijapur annexed Kurnool, Aravidu Chieftains continued as feudatories under the Nawab. (See pages 27 and 29 of the Kurnool District Manual.) The Kurnool district was thus not merely the *Seema* of the *Rayalu* in its general sense but their *Seema* in its special sense of home-land.

Cuddapah District

Proceeding last to the Cuddapah District, I have already referred to the statement of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar that the division of Gandikota was one of the divisions in the "special charge" of the Aravidu Chiefs before they became the Emperors. Gandikota Division, according to the Cuddapah District Gazetteer (at p 192) "was a district embracing the present taluqs of Pulivendala, Proddatur, Kamalapuram and Cuddapah and possibly a part of Kurnool District." Further, in the same district Gazetteer (at pages 35 and 38) it is stated that the whole of the Cuddapah district became a part of the Vijayanagar Empire within a very short time of its foundation, that it was included in the Udayagiri Province, and that (without following the vicissitudes of the fort of Udayagiri) *almost the whole* (italics mine) of the Cuddapah District was within the empire till the 17th century. These facts may, by themselves sufficient to show that the Cuddapah District was a part of the *Seema* of the *Rayalu*.

Is Cuddapah District not the Ancestral Home of the Aravidus?

But there seems to be some support for the theory that there is a closer and more intimate connection between the Aravidu chiefs and the Cuddapah District and that in fact it is their ancestral home. The word “Āraveti” (ఆరవేటి), in Telugu, by the rule of *Taddhitam*, means pertaining to “Aravēdu” (అరవేడు). The ancestors of Araviti Rama Raja who captured Kurnool and made it his capital, are said in several Telugu poems to be lords of “Āravetipura.” Now, where was this town of Aravetipura or Aravedu? To this question, I have found no answer in Rev. Heras’s book on the Aravidu dynasty, nor in the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* by Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar. But in casually turning over the pages of Vol. IV of the *Epigraphica Indica* (of the year 1897), I found at p. 270 a reference in the text to Aravetipura with the following foot-note by Dr. Hultzsch, the then Editor:— “Mr. K. Venkatakrishnayya, clerk of the Madras Law College, informs me that the Madras Manual of Administration, Vol. III, p. 765 mentions a place named Aravedu, 16 miles W.S.W. from Rayachoti in the Cuddapah District.” The note shows that Dr. Hultzsch thought that Aravedu in the Rayachoti Taluq (bordering on the Chittore District) *might* be the *Aravetipura* of the Telugu poems. On looking up Mr. Gribble’s Cuddapah District Manual (of 1875), I find that Aravedu (అరవేడు) is given in the list of villages in the Rayachoti Taluq and it had a population of 2716 inhabitants. In the Cuddapah District Gazetteer (of 1915), the village is noted in the map attached to the publication but no mention is made of it in the list of important villages in the Rayachoti Taluq. It looks as if the Archaeological Department had not tried to follow up the suggestions of Dr. Hultzsch.

It seems to me that the following points may be helpful when considering the theory of the identity of

Aravedu in Rayachoti Taluq with Aravetipura of the poems:—

(1) There seems to be no other big village (*pura*) identified as Aravetipura (so far as I know).

(2) The poem *Ramarajiyamu* states that Araveti Somadeva and his great grandson Araviti Bukka ruled at Aravetipura and that the latter's son Araviti Rama Raja captured Kurnool from the Savai (Sultan of Golkonda*) and made it his capital. With reference to Araviti Bukka, it is stated by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (at p. 102 of his *Sources*) that Bukka was a general under the Vijayanagar Emperor Saluva Narasimha (of the Second or Saluva Dynasty). The same learned author states (at pages 8 and 92) that Saluva Narasimha held the fief of Chandragiri which was his 'ancestral residence. Araviti Bukka's help to Saluva Narasimha was so great that he is referred to by the author of *Ramarajiyamu* as having earned the title of "the establisher of Saluva Narasimha's Line." These facts seem to suggest that Bukka was the petty chieftain of 'Aravedu in the Cuddapah District, that he came to prominence under the Saluva dynasty, and that his son Rama Raja removed his head-quarters of Kurnool after he got it as a Jaghir from the Emperor. Araviti Bukka must have lived very near Chandragiri to be of great use to Saluva Narasimha.

(3) There is a very large number of Araveti families now in the districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool.

(4) If it should be asked how Aravedu lost its importance when it was the ancestral home of the Aravidu Kings, it must be remembered that (as stated at p. 36 of the Cuddapah District Gazetteer) the Rayachoti Taluq was in the Udayagiri Province under the Vijayanagar Kings but not included in the Gandikota and Siddhavatam Seemas comprising the main portion of the present Cuddapah District. But Udayagiri was temporarily lost to the Empire (thanks to the Kings of Orissa and probably to the refractory Reddis of Kondavidu — see page 36 of the

*Golkonda' seems to be an error for 'Bijapur.'

Cuddapah District Gazetteer) till the great Krishnadevaraya reconquered it. It was finally lost to the Vijayanagar Empire in 1580—much earlier than the main portion of the Cuddapah District.

(5) There are several villages in the Rayachoti Taluq and the surrounding area ending with “*vedu*” or “*veedu*” such as Ghalivedu, Noolivedu, Mudivedu, Gottivedu.

(6) I learn from a reliable source that there are the ruins of an old fort in the village of Aravedu in the Rayachoti Taluq, though I have not verified this.

If Aravedu in Rayachoti was the Aravetipura of the Telugu poems, the Cuddapah District gets the pride of place as the ancestral district of the *Rayalu* i. e., of the Kings of the Aravidu or Karnata dynasty.

From the foregoing discussion, it will be seen that the area comprising the Ceded Districts and Chittore rightly deserves the name of *Rayalaseema*. I have only to add that Dr. N. Venkataramanayya of the University of Madras, in a letter written to me which he has authorised me to publish, says as follows:— “The term *Rayaseeme* or *Rayalaseema* as applied to the present Ceded Districts is not a term of recent coinage.” After referring to some inscriptions and literature, the learned Doctor says:— “The reference from the inscriptions and literature clearly shows that the Ceded Districts were known during the 16th and 17th centuries as *Rayalaseema*.”*

* The inscriptions show that the feudatory chiefs referred to the area either then or previously, under the direct rule of the Aravidu Kings as “*Rayaseema*” or “*Rayalaseema*.”

ARCHITECTURE.

Dravidian — Vizianagar Style.

by

SRI M. R. APPAROW BAHADUR, M A.

Beauty crystalised into visible form synthesising with itself the unaesthetic, sordid, and material utility constitutes the unity of architecture. This strange admixture of contraries makes its study all the more fascinating and absorbing. The foremost necessity of the primitive man was to keep himself safe from the sabre-toothed tiger, the hungry wolf, and the head-hunting enemy. The cave provided shelter against weather, the tribe protected him from the beast and the savage. Innate instinct prompted the amateur artist to draw in outline the shapes of the denizens of the forest. The primitive cave-wife drew madly and out of the throes of madness, the child of sanity was born. The strait line, the curve, the triangle, the square and the circle took their respective forms. The 'Cave-man' made the doorway broad and wrought it into various shapes and also broadened the interior. Thus the rock-cut Chaitya, Vihara and the temple developed and their interiors decorated with the mural and the design. The imagination through perception transmogrifies, the design, the mural and the sculpture into agreeable sensation and beautiful emotion. Unity of shape and excellence of form conceived with direction and purpose cause calm contemplation and spiritual satisfaction. Thus, drawing becomes art, building becomes architecture.

Every art has its general principles and accepted canons. Architecture is no exception. 'Maintenance of Unity' in any design is the most important first principle of good building. The central feature holds the whole structure together and rules over them all like the sun which keeps in order the Solar System. The central dome of the Taj that keeps in proportion the other smaller compatriots around it, is a handy example. The Greeks and the Moguls paid great attention to this cardinal

principle. Greeks related all the parts of a single mass so deftly that each contributed to and intensified the expression of the whole. "The front." Although there is an equal number of columns on either side of the central axis, these columns are united and held together by the strong entablature and the climax of the triangular pediment above" This principle applies equally to all the parts of the building like the doors and the windows.

The second principle may be termed as 'Punctuation.' An independent structure in a building must have its own individuality emphasised without offence to the structure and this is done by bringing into prominence its terminations. "One of the well-known ways of punctuating the base of a building is to stand it on a series of columns which contrasting with the horizontal lines of the wall above or of the pavement below, give to the base of the wall a very strong emphasis" Definition of outline is a necessary adjunct of punctuation. This makes the structure look grand in silhouette.

The third principle is the "cannon of inflection" This principle relates the parts to the whole structure and the structure to environment. This becomes evident especially in civic architecture rather than in individual building. "The preparation every good building makes for every large feature is an obvious but important form of inflection"

Proportion and scale are inherent features of all forms of art whether it be music, painting or architecture. There can be neither limit nor definition to proportion and scale save what is dictated by the innate genius of the architect. The human figure is the only limiting factor in the conception of proportion because all buildings are intended for use by human beings. All buildings must look their size without being falsely stunted or grossly exaggerated. One might easily make an isolated building look many times its size by the relation of the various sub-parts to the whole structure. But once a man approaches, the whole myth is exploded. . "A building like any other work of art must have character in the general

sense answering to the nobility of mind and intention on the part of the designer". Architecture, as pointed at the beginning of this essay, has 'use-value' unlike painting or sculpture. Traditional form is indeed the very life breath of architecture. A Gopuram cannot be built on the palace-gate and conversely a dome cannot be put on the temple.

Now, we must see how these principles apply to the classical architecture of various countries in general and India in particular.

Egypt like India is a very ancient country. The philosophical outlook of the pharaohs was not much different from that of ancient India. The life here is a preparation for the one 'here-after'. The pyramids are huge structural tombs of kings. The tomb and the temple were made permanent, impressive and mysterious. Thus, the construction became functional. The proper plan and proportion for expressing the mystery of life according to Egyptian conception is massive and simple style made up of unbroken wall and flat stone roof with great stones. "The pyramids were solid stone hills of sharp arresting, outline and mystery was obtained by a long main vista, enhanced by preparatory avenues of great sphinxes". The great sphinx with its simple form stood guardian over the desert mysteriously looking into one's soul. Inside the pyramid, the dark chambers open to you the unfathomable depths of the nether world.

In Greece too we see simple post and lintel construction as in Egypt but carried far higher in expressiveness and refinement. Egypt built huge monuments commanding slave labour but Greece was a democracy and had to pay wages. So intensive perfection rather than enormous size became the ideal. The coloured marble was a great asset to the Greeks. Temples were constructed on raised sites as for example the Parthenon on the Acropolis at Athens. There were two forms: the Doric and the Ionic in Greek architecture. "To the perfection of this single type of temple-building, the Greeks, lovers of order and harmony as they were, brought their capacity for

logical thinking and their mathematical ability as well as the finest craftsmanship yet seen in masonry sculpture and decorative painting. They stood for perfection of proportion and finish and for an abstract remote, almost inhuman beauty."

* The Romans were the world conquerors and needed architectural forms suitable to all countries and climes. Large stones and marble would not be available everywhere and so the baked brick came into vogue. The semi-circular vault, the cross vault, obtained by the intersection of two equal barrel vaults or the dome which is the arch rotated about a centre were all developed by the Romans. Cement was another great aid to the Romans in their constructional advance. The secret of cement manufacture was lost in the darkness of the middle ages. Romans formalised columns and lintels into five standardized types. "This view of architecture as so much formalised scenery led nevertheless to the great forums and other formal enclosures in their towns, to the long colonnaded streets with their vistas ending on a triumphal arch or other decorative object, which have formed ever since the basis of the town-planning of the more formal parts of our cities."

The special feature of Indian Architecture is its spiritual content and the religious consciousness of the people expressed itself in building temples of outstanding merit. Southern India developed its own style of architecture. As Southern India was known as Dravida Desa, the particular style was referred to as "Dravidian Style." The genesis of this style can be traced from the Pallava period (A.D. 600—900) developing through Chola (A. D. 900—1150), Pandya (A.D. 1100—1350), Vizianagar (A. D. 1350—1565), and Madura (A. D. 1600) times when it became full-fledged and complete.

Pallava architecture itself has two distinct phases: The first phase made up of Mahendra group from A. D. 610—640 consisting mainly of rock-cut pillared mandapas and Mamalla group from A. D. 640 to 690 consisting of

mandapas and rathas (monolithic) also rock-cut. The second phase begins from Rajasimha group A. D. 690 to 800 consisting of temples and Nandivarman Group A.D. 800—C. 900 also of temples but wholly structural in nature. There is a big change from the first phase to the second in that the second discarded the laborious and limited rock-cut technique and developed structural methods which were destined to flower into full glory in the Madura style from 1600 A.D.

'Mandapas' and 'Rathas' are prominent during the Pallava period and from them the later style took its inspiration and guidance. A 'Mandapa' is an excavation while a 'Ratha' is a monolith, the former is an open pillard pavilion and the latter is modelled on the chariot used in processions (Utsavams). The rock-cut mandapas and rathas of early group of Pallava architecture that are extant are the following:— (From Percy Brown).

"(1) Dalavanur, 10 M. S E of Ginjee in S A. Dist. (2) Trichinopoly 'Rock Temple'. (3) Mandagapatu, 6 M S. W of Dalavanur. (4) Pallavaram, Chingleput District. (5) Mahendravadi, 3 M.S.E. of Sholinghur, N A. District. (6) Vallam, 2 M.S.E. of Chingleput. (7) Malacheri, 3M N W. of Ginjee. (8) Singavaram, 1 M. S of Malacheri. (9) Tirukkalukkunram 9 M. S.E. of Chingleput. (10) Kil-mavilangai, S. A. District. (11) Bezwada, Kistna District. (12) Mogalrajapuram, 3M. E. of Bezwada. (13) Undavilli, Guntur Dist (14) Bhairavakonda, Vellore District."

Mahendra type of pillar which supported the Mandapa was very simple and rudimentary as can be seen at Mandagapattu but later on at Mogalrajapuram the roll-cornice above the pillar was decorated with 'Kudu' which is an off-shoot of Buddhist Chaitya-arch. During the later part of Mahendra's reign at Bhairavakonda, Pallava style became evident in 'the design of the facade' and 'elaboration of the pillars.' This pillar later on came to possess a lion at the base. As 'Simha' was also the symbol of Pallava dynasty, the architecture came to possess the pure characteristics of Pallava style. The second part of

the first phase was cut in the reign of Narasimhavarman (A.D. 640—668) consisting of Mandapas and Rathas. Mamallapuram was the Pallava harbour where suitable rock was found handy for execution. The foundation of a citadel with palaces could be seen now. The secular buildings were structural while religious buildings were rock-cut. This is but natural because religious monuments were meant to be everlasting. There are ten rock-cut mandapas at Mamallapuram none being very large. These are: 1. Dharmaraja 2. Kotikal 3. Mahishasura 4. Krishna 5. Pancha Pandava 6. Varaha 7. Ramanuja 8. Five-celled Saivite 9 and 10. Unfinished. The Mandapas impress not with their size but with the deftness of execution and finish they exhibit. "On the facade there is a roll-cornice decorated with Chaitya arch motif (Kudu) and above this a parapet, or attic member formed of model shrines, a long one alternating with a short one". The relief work on the architraves and cornices was finely wrought because the cutter was essentially a sculptor. Facade pillars of Varaha Mandapa show the finest example of the whole Group. "The pillar standing on the sedent of lion's head consists of the fluted and bended shaft (stambham), the refined necking (tadi), the elegant curves of the melon capital (Kumbha), and its lotus form (idaie) with its wide abacus (Palagai)".

The other type of architecture of Narasimhavarman's reign are rathas, rock-cut monoliths popularly known as Seven Pagodas. Each, though cut in Pallava style, exhibits new form of expression. These rathas are the exact replicas of their wooden counter-parts and the purpose of their execution is an unsolved mystery because their interiors were never used. Sphinx-like, they baffle understanding and tax the capacity of interpretation. There are eight in all. "North-West: Valaiyankuttai and Pidari. South: Draupadi, Arjuna, Bhima, Dharmaraja and Sahadeva; North: Ganesh." About five rathas were built in vihara styles: thus the Buddhist vihara was metamorphosed into the Hindu shrine. The stylobate, lion-pillared porticos, turreted roof, are all moulded into pleasing forms

and motifs. Bhima, Sahadeva and Ganesh rathas were modelled on Chaitya hall. The genesis of the Gopuram can be seen in these pagodas. Very high quality of figure-sculpture adorns both the mandapas and the rathas. The second that is the structural period of architecture begins from the reign of Rajasimha. In this period the rock-cut method became obsolete and structural technique developed. Of this group there are six examples consisting of "the 'Shore', 'Iswara', and Makunda temples at Mamillapuram, a temple at Panamalai in the South Arcot District, and the temples of Kailasanatha and of Vaikunta Perumal at 'Conjeevaram'." "The 'Shore Temple' is the first and best example of Pallava structural architecture. This temple standing on the sea-shore shows evidence of previous experience in stone construction. The strength can be assessed from the fact that it withstood all these years the buffets of weather and spray. Though the Shore temple was based on Dharmaraja Ratha of the Seven Pagodas, it shows originality in the shape of its tower. After this Shore temple another Saivite temple known as Kailasanatha temple was built at Conjeevaram, the Pallava Capital. This temple was completed by Mahendravarman III. It consists "of a sanctuary with its pyramidal tower and a pillard hall, the whole contained within a rectangular courtyard enclosed by a high and substantial wall composed of cells."

The last period of the second phase of Pallava architecture begins during Nandivarman's reign. The principal examples of this period are six in number "Two temples at Conjeevaram, the Mukteswara and Malangeswara, the Vadamalliswara temple at Oragadam near Chingalput, the temple of Virattaneswara at Tiruttani near Arkonam, and the Parasurameswara temple at Gudimallam near Renigunta." Pallavas were great builders and they developed Dravidian architecture from the Buddhist-Amaravati architecture. This style developing through Chola and Pandya periods brings us to the Vizianagar style (A. D. 1350—1565).



Nāginis from Kāmalāpuram.

కమలాపురము దొరకిన నాగినిలు.



కమలాపురము దొరకిన నాగిని,



గంటల పెద్దనంది.



Sculptures inside Vithala Temple.

విఠాలయ మండప శిల్పములు,

Vizianagar Empire at its zenith extended from Cape Comorin to Kistna and the Capital became one of the foremost cities of Asia. During this period architecture developed "the extreme limit of florid magnificence." It is a record in stone of a range of ideals, sensations, emotions, prodigalities, abnormalities, of forms and formlessness, and even eccentricities, that only a super imaginative mind could conceive and only an inspired artist could reproduce."

In the temple architecture, new developments were introduced in the shape of additional buildings for more elaborate rituals than before. To the main temple were added pillard halls, pavilions and other sundry small structures. One of the important new annexes is Amman Shrine in which the consort of the main deity was installed. Kalyana mandapa is another chief adjunct in which the annual wedding ceremony of the deity and consort was pompously celebrated. The architects gave importance to the pillars and piers and they lavished skill in their embellishment. Pavilions containing groups of columns form the principal part of the architectural scheme and it is by the artistically ingenious character of many of these supports that the buildings of this style may be identified. "A furiously rearing horse, rampant hippograph, or up-raised animal of a supernatural kind" are the important elements in the style. On the shaft small scale copies of the shrines are chiselled one above the other as on the gopuram. Brackets of the pillars forming upper part of their capitals were elaborated into a volute ending in an inverted lotus bud and this feature can be taken as a fairly reliable index of the period.

The city of Vizianagar itself is situated amidst the mountains and boulders which abound in the Tungabhadra river and all round the place. Apart from strategic importance, the terrain provided excellent building material near at hand. Local granite and chlorite stones provided bases for two different methods of sculpture according to their respective plasticity. The granite was roughly hewn while chlorite provided scope for fine work.

In Vizianagar there are many temples, of them all Vittala Swamy's and Hazara Rama's temples are particularly noteworthy. Vitthala temple was begun by Sree Krishna Deva Raya the Great in 1513 and was continued by Achyuta Raya (1529—42) but it was never completed on account of its elaborate design. "Its courtyard is 500 feet long 310 ft. wide and is surrounded by cloisters formed of a triple row of pillars entrance being obtained through three gopurams. The main temple is dedicated to Vithoba of Panduranga. There is a 'Mahamandapa' in front, ardhi-mandapa in the middle, and garbha griha in the rear. Fifty six pillars that adorn the maha mandapa, each being 12 ft. in height form a beautiful colonnade and give unique feeling of aesthetic pleasure. Each pier consists of a special group of sculpture. On some of these pillars there is the typical 'rearing animal motif, (a horse-like animal standing on its hind legs) half natural, half mythical, but wholly rhythmic'. The colonnade is so closely spaced as to cause a feeling of bewildering intricacy. Profusely carved entablatures and the ceiling carved with lotus flower are very skilfully handled. Almost every stone has elaborately cut patterns and produces on the onlooker a sense of awe-inspiring respect. The ardhi mandapa and the sanctuary form a rectangular structure 135 ft. by 67 ft, the walls of these buildings are adorned with the characteristic Dravidian pilaster, niche and alcove combination. The Kalyana mandapa is another superbly wrought structure. "There is the voluptuous double flexured cornice with a turned up outer edge reminiscent of the pagodas of China and below is a grouping of piers, each with its girdle of detached shafts of most graceful and elegant proportions". There is also a Ratha in masonry with a revolving stone wheel.

On account of the uneven nature of the place, the planning of the town could not be symmetrical and therefore there is some difficulty in determining the exact nature of various buildings. In one portion the imperial buildings were grouped together, and this is identified as the citadel with a wall round the compound. In this area

there is a small but very important temple — that of Hazara Rama. In this perhaps the members of the Imperial family worshipped. This was begun and completed by Sree Krishna Deva Raya. This temple was completed and finished with all the necessary annexes like Amman Shrine, Kalyana Mandapa, Vimana etc. The assembly hall has four massive black-stone pillars." The shafts of these pillars are made up of varying geometrical shapes, 'a cube alternating with a fluted cylinder all copiously carved, while each capital is a very substantial four-branched foliated volute, each volute terminating in the characteristic knop.' The main building consists of a vinana, with a storey and a pyramidal Sikhara. The Sikhara consists of tiers of its own replicas in three stages crowned by a cupola. Hazara Rama's temple is exceptional for its scheme of mural relief decoration. In the Kalyana Mandapa of the Spatica-Sila Rama Deva temple each of the small pilasters, that goes to make up the numerous pillars that support the building when drawn across with a strong stick, produces a particular note in succession so as to produce Sa Re Ga Ma Pa Da Ni Sa of the Indian Musical scale.

Within the citadel almost all the secular buildings were demolished by the conquerors of Talikota in 1565. Of all the sundry structures, the "Kings' Audience Hall" and the "Throne Platform" or the "House of Victory" which was built in commemoration of Sree Krishna Deva Raya's Orissa conquest in 1513, are the two most imposing structures. The terraces of both these structures must have had pillard pavilions and according to contemporary accounts each was several storeys in height.

On the platform of the King's Audience Hall can be seen sockets of pillars in ten rows, each row consisting of ten pillars and this would make it a hall of hundred pillars. From the debris lying around we can see that these pillars had cylindrical shafts, bracket capitals, and square bases. The other basement, that of the throne platform, 'is in three diminishing stages, each square in

plan, the side of the lowest being 132 ft. and the uppermost 78 ft'. The walls of the two lower platforms are adorned with figures of animals carved in bas-relief. As a foil to this the upper platform was contrastingly built. "Its horizontality is emphasised by a series of nine boldly moulded courses, sharply projected, and fashioned out of lengths of stone like huge beams, carved and placed in position with a skill and precision showing long practice."

Apart from the city of Vizianagar itself, there are other places like Vellore, Kumbakonam, Conjeevaram, Tadpatri, Virinchipuram and Srirangam where the builders of this particular style can be found. Of all these structures, the fort of Vellore is important. The Kalyana Mandapa excels even its prototypes in the capital and can be considered the most beautiful structure of the period. The hippogryphs and dragons of its pillars seem to move with vigour and life and the 'Fineness and prodigality of ornament' must be seen to be enjoyed to the fullest extent. The gopuram is in characteristic 16th century style with 'the foliation of the pedestal (Padmam), the pavilion-canopied niches, the voluted chaitya (kudu) and the flamboyant pilasters (Kumbapancharam) in the alcoves'.

The Kalyana Mandapa of Marghasakeswara temple at Virinchipuram also contains the same rearing animal motif and the 'exquisite refinement' of pillars. This same style is elaborated in the Varadaraja Swami temple of thousand pillars at Conjeevaram. At Tadpatri, the gopuram of Rameswara is fashioned in a close filigree of convoluted carving. The Seshagiri Mandapam at Srirangam contains the same steeds rearing furiously and appears as if they are made up of hardened steel and not of stone.

The arch-motifs like rearing horse and dwarf-like creatures carrying enormous burden show the temper and psychology of the times. The chivalry of the age is potently expressed in the nonchalant handling of the furious steed, and the dwarfs express perhaps the conquest of the Dravidians by the Aryan race long ago who ever since were condemned to everlasting slavery. Thus the study of architecture shows us the glory of an empire which dammed the surging tide of Muslim invaders for three centuries and saved the indigenous culture and genius of the people.

ANDHRA LITERATURE IN THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE.*

Revised

TEKUMALLA ACHYUTA RAO, M.A., L.T.

1. *The Sangama Period:* The Hindu empire of the South with its capital at Vidyānagara or Vijayanagara on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra established by the joint efforts of the Āndhras and Kārṇāṭakas became soon a bulwark against the aggression of the Muhammadans from the north. The Hindu empire became quickly the stronghold of all that was precious in the Hindu culture, art and civilization. Quite naturally the kings of Vijayanagara even from the early period began to encourage Hindu learning and Hindu culture and art. Harihara I and his younger brother Bukkarāya I who were the founders of the new kingdom were powerful kings. They belonged to what is known as the Sangama Dynasty, because their father was Sangama and Bukkarāya was the greatest king of his line. His empire extended from the sea on the east to the sea on the west and covered almost the entire peninsula. He was a Kārṇāṭaka but he liberally patronised and encouraged the growth of the Kannaḍa and Āndhra cultures and the revival of Sanskrit learning and Vedic culture. In fact, Sanskrit and Vedic culture received the best care and protection under the brothers Harihara and Bukkarāya and their Minister. Sayana, the commentator of the Vedas, was the brother of their prime-minister, Vidyaranya Mādhavacharya.

During the reigns of Harihara and Bukkarāya, the Chief Āndhra court-poet was Nāchana Sōmanātha, the author of the Telugu poem *Uttara-Harivamsamu*. The little that we know of the life of this celebrated poet is learnt not from his poem which is extant without the usual preface or *avatārikā* but from a contemporary inscription which records the grant of a village on the

* Vide his original article published in J A.H.R.S., Vol. X.

banks of the Penna or Pinākinī in Nellore District to Sōmanātha, in appreciation of his poetic talent and profound scholarship by the emperor Bukkarāya. The inscription states among other things that Sōmanātha was born in the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, was a student of Yajurveda and follower of the Āpastam̐ba *sūtra* and learned in all the Vēdas and the eighteen Purāṇas. It is said that he was a poet in "eighteen languages". From the record it is not, however, clear whether the name 'Nāchana' was the family appellation or the name of the poet's father. If it was the family appellation it might be the name of a village as it generally happens in the Andhra country where people take their family name from their native village. There are two villages of the name 'Nāchana', one in Rajaputana and the other in Bundelkhand. Some years ago a correspondent in the *Hindu* pointed out the existence of a village named 'Nāchana' in Bundelkhand and proceeded to connect it with the Āndhra poet Nāchana Sōmanātha. But the enormous distance from Andhradesa and the different language of that region are against such an inference. The people of Nellore claim the poet as belonging to their district. They base their claim on the fact that Sōmanātha refers to Tikkana Sōmayāji of Vikramasimhapura *i.e.*, the modern Nellore, and his *Āndhra Mahābhārataṃ* with utmost veneration in the colophon of his poem *Uttara Harivaṃśamu* and that the poem itself was dedicated to god Hariharanātha in the same manner as Tikkana Sōmayāji dedicated his work. But I think this circumstance is too slender to support their claim. The poet was no doubt an Andhra, who on account of his previous association with the brothers Harihara and Bukkarāya at Ōruṅgallu (Warangal) was influenced to follow the fortunes of his royal patrons and settle at Vijayanagara and thus become their chief Andhra court-poet. In some subsequent poems he is named Nachiraju Somana. So, we may suppose that Nachana is the name of the father.

But the more interesting thing is the literary value of Sōmanātha's work. In the matter of appreciation of

this unique poem, there are two schools. One school of critics considers his style to be difficult, his poetic thought obscure and hence unnatural. It compares his work with that of his contemporary Yerrāpragada who flourished at the court of the Reddi kings of Addanki. According to this school Yerrāpragada's *Harivamsamu* which is also a translation into Telugu from the original Samskrit is much superior to that of Sōmanātha's poem in poetic art. The other school of critics to which I belong like the late Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu considers that in Sōmanātha's poem there is the highest poetic expression that can be found in the whole range of the Āndhra literature. Somanatha is intensely dramatic in his conception of his poetic Dharma and his style is melodious and pours like the waters of the Ganges at Haridwar. Sōmanātha is, however, a lover of paradox and some of his verses are thus difficult to understand. Secondly, he loves internal rhymes (*antya niyama*), particularly in descriptions, and thus gives a touch of conventionalism to his style. Thirdly he is an artist who is self-conscious, who verges often on self-complacency. He is ostensibly a translator from Samskrit but he is not really a translator, The freedom with which he either expands or condenses the events in the narrative or even ignores the incidents of the original, indicates that he considers himself a free artist who is subject to his own individual judgment. Another example of the kind is Carlyle's History of French Revolution.

Bukkarāya was succeeded by his son Harihara II. After him came to the throne his son Vijayarāya and he was succeeded by his son the great Dēvarāya II or Praudha Dēvarāya as he was also called. During the reign of Dēvarāya II, the Sangama dynasty reached the zenith of glory. Dēvarāya I and his grandson Dēvarāya II were themselves great scholars and authors of repute and liberally patronised learning. During the reign of Dēvarāya II, the great Andhra poet Srinātha visited the court of Vijayanagara and was greatly honoured by the emperor.

In a polemical contest with the Sanskrit poet-laureate Dindima Bhaṭṭāraka, the Kavi-sārvabhauma, Śrīnātha Bhaṭṭa came out victorious and wrested the title of *Kavi Sārvabhauma* from his opponent, for which the scholar-king Dēvarāya II literally bathed the poet in a shower (*svarṇa-snāna*) of gold coins (*dīnāras*) with which the poet was weighed in the 'Pearl-Hall' (*mutyāla śāla*) and presented him with choicest and costliest gifts. Since Śrīnātha was the court-poet of the Redḍi kings of the north-eastern Andhra country, of Konḍaviḍu and Rājamahēndravaram, I shall be content here to make a passing reference to it in this connection. But there were several great Andhra poets who flourished during the reigns of these two Dēvarāyas—Dēvarāya I (1404-1422 A.D) and Dēvarāya II or Praudha Dēvarāya (1423-1447 A.D)— in the Vijayanagara empire and who left behind immortal works of their poetic craft.

The earliest among them was Jakkana, the author of *Vikramārka-charitramu*, which was dedicated to Vennelakanti Siddhana-Mantri, Minister of the Imperial Treasury of the Dēvarāyas. Jakkana was a Brahmin, and his ancestors came from Nellore District and they belonged to a cultured and learned family. Both Jakkana's father and grandfather were eminent Telugu poets. Jakkana was noted for his vast learning while his poetic genius was of a high order. His poem *Vikramārka-charitramu* is a narrative which describes the heroic chivalry and super-human exploits of the legendary prince Vikramārka. The exploits are mere legends and, are fanciful stories depicting super-human heroism, voluptuousness and extraordinary chivalry of the hero. The theme of the poem is therefore neither edifying nor wholesome. Jakkana's poetry has, however, a wonderful elastic glow of rare imagination which prevades throughout the poem.

Another poet of this epoch was Vinukonḍa Vallabharāya, who was a friend of the celebrated Śrīnātha Bhaṭṭa. Vallabharāya came of a noble Brahmana family of Mōpūr, a town in the Mulaka-nāḍu in the Kurnool District. His

only work *Kṛīḍābhīrāmamu* is a poem which combines in itself the drama and the epic. It is a short piece and covers a single day's adventure, especially of the amorous type. *Kṛīḍābhīrāmamu* is unique in subject-matter and style. It is a valuable historical document depicting in picturesque style the social life of the city of Ōrūṅgallu or Warangal, the capital of the Kākātīya kings during the early part of the fourteenth century. The society as depicted in the poem is full of zest and vivacity. The reference to the 'Chief Mistress' Māchala Dēvi, of king Pratāpa Rudra in the poem seems to suggest that the poem relates to the hey-day of glory of Warangal prior to its fall at the hands of the Muhammadans. The poem deals with the adventures of two characters, Mañichana Sarma and his companion Tiṭṭibha Seṭṭi. The former is a gay Lothario and the latter his confidant and purse-bearer. The scenes which they visited range from the heroic dances representing the stirring story of the heroes of Palnad to escapades of the lowest and voluptuous debouchery. The poem represents various types of picturesque scenes, from the sublimest tragedy of heroic life to the lowest comedy of a night debouche of Mañichana Sarma with a pretty bastard girl of debased Brahman extraction. In point of style and diction, the poem is an imitation of the high-flown periods of Śrīnātha; and so much so, there is a school of critics which ascribes the piece to Śrīnātha himself, the celebrated poet of the day.

The third poet of the period was Dagguballi Duggana, brother-in-law of the renowned Śrīnātha Kavi-sārvabhauma. Duggana was the author of several poems, but only one of them, *Nāsikēthōpākhyānamu* is now extant; and even that was discovered by an accident. Of this poem there is a single manuscript; and it should have been lost to the Andhra literature had it not been for its careful and excellent preservation in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. And its loss would have been equal to the loss of a *Paradise Lost* or a *Divina Comedia*. In the whole range of the Andhra literature here is a poem which rises

to the loftiest heights of romantic asceticism depicting a holy couple whose love is of the purest and most austere kind. The theme is sublime in conception and the poet rises equal to the occasion. Duggana's poetic art is of the highest class. He employs a style of subdued emotion and austere grace that appropriately blends the romance and asceticism of the hero and heroine. *Nāsikētōpākhyānamu* is dedicated to Chandaluri Ganganna Mantri, the chief minister of Prince Basavarāja, the semi-independent ruler of Udayagiri Rājyam, in Nellore District. Basavarāja's capital was Udayagiri; and he was probably a feudatory of the Gajapatis of Orissa in the beginning.

To Basavarāja another poem *Pañchatantram* by Dūbaguṇṭa Nārāyaṇa Kavi was also dedicated. Nārāyaṇa Kavi also flourished at the court of Udayagiri like Duggana. *Pañchatantram* is written in a lucid, chaste and unpretentious style; it is a free rendering of the famous Sanskrit poem. With Nārāyaṇa Kavi comes to an end practically the Saṃgama epoch of the Andhra literature in the Vijayanagara Empire. Prince Basavarāja of Udayagiri with his long and peaceful reign of nearly half a century is like a link between the Saṃgama epoch and its successor the Sāluva period.

The successors of Dēvarāja II were profligate and degenerate kings who allowed their empire to decay. The Bahmani Sultans on one side and the Gajapatis on the other harassed the empire, which was consequently under constant threat or imminent danger of being destroyed by the enemies. At that juncture Sāluva Narasimharāja, the commander-in-chief of the imperial forces came to the rescue, and with the consent and co-operation of other feudatory chieftains of the kingdom, he deposed the last of the Saṃgama dynasty, and usurped the throne in 1487 A. D. He was the founder of the Sāluva line or the Second dynasty of Vijayanagara as it is also called.

II. *The Sāluva Epoch*: Sāluva Narasimharāja reigned from 1485 to 1493. He was a soldier, scholar and author of the Sanskrit poem *Rāmābhyudayam*. His life and

achievements were described by Rājanātha Pinḍima, the court-poet, in *Sāṭuvabhyudayaṃ* in Sanskrit. Narasimharāya was originally a subordinate chief stationed at Chandragiri as the ruler of the Chandragiri rājya in the empire. He rose to the rank of the most trusted commander of the imperial armies by the force of his prowess, ability and fidelity to the imperial throne. He was an Andhra and when the Saṃgamas who were practically Kārṇāṭakas lost their hold in the empire, the Sāṭuvās, an Andhra family led by Narasimharāya, the veteran general stepped into the breach and seized the imperial crown.

During the period of Narasimharāya lived the renowned poet Pillalamaṅḡri Pina Vīrabhadra, the poet-laureate of the Sāṭuva at the Vijayanagara court. Pina Vīrabhadra was a prolific writer and a man of genius. Of his several poems only two are now extant. One of them *Jaimini Bhāratamu* was dedicated to his lord Narasimharāya and, the other was *Śṛṅgāra Śākuntalam*, dedicated to a local chieftain of a village in the Nellore District. Vīrabhadra was a Brahmin and his ancestors came from a village which lay on the border between the Nellore and Guntur Districts. His elder brother would appear to have been in the military service of Narasimharāya and it was probably through his influence that he obtained the favour of the king and rose to eminence. Pina Vīrabhadra's earlier poem *Śṛṅgāra Śākuntalam* is an adaptation of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* in the form of a *prabandha* in Telugu. It is written in a melodious and flowing style that reminds the reader often of the limpid harmonies of the Āndhra language. The second poem *Jaimini Bhāratamu* is a more literal translation of the Sanskrit epic *Jaimini Bhārata* or the *Bhārata* of Jaimini. Pina Vīrabhadra's *Jaimini Bhāratamu* contains only the *Aśvamēdha parvam* of the entire *Mahābhārata* and even this *Aśvamēdha parvam* differs materially from the *Aśvamēdha parvam* of the *Mahābhārata* of Vyāsa and Vaiśampāyana. The *Jaimini Bhāratamu* narrates the exploits of Arjuna and his brothers during the period of their

wanderings about the country, following the sacrificial steed prior to the offering of the *Aṣvamēdha*. King Narasimharāya fancied himself to be an incarnation of the Pāṇḍava hero Arjuna, for which the poet would appear to have made himself responsible. Consequently Narasimharāya encouraged the translation of the epic into Telugu, which described the *dig vijaya* of Arjuna. But the most interesting thing about the poem is the marvellous diction. Pina Vīrabhadra's poem is written in a style which rushes like a wild torrent, the language being always sweet and charming though here and there is a predominance of Sanskrit over Telugu. The mould of the metres and the dignified flow of the verses show that the poet imitates the eloquent, picturesque and grandiose diction of Śrīnātha. Pina Vīrabhadra was a great scholar, but not comparable to the illustrious Śrīnātha who would appear to be his elder contemporary. Tradition tells that there was some sort of healthy rivalry between the two poets but there is no proof of that.

III. *The Tuluva Period*: (1493 — 1540 A. D.)

Narasimharāya died in 1493 A.D. leaving two sons of tender age to succeed him, whom he entrusted to the care of his trusted minister Tuluva Narasa Nāyaka, the generalissimo of the Vijayanagara armies. Narasa Nāyaka who was originally a petty chieftain in the neighbourhood of Chandragiri rose to importance in the kingdom on account of his devotion to his master, and remarkable military achievements. He remained faithful to his charge, and though he held practically the full reins of the government in his hands, he remained contented with the position of 'Regent' of the boy kings. The elder prince Immaḍi Narasimha or Narasimharāya II succeeded to the throne but soon after died in battle. The second son whose name is not mentioned anywhere seems to have died from natural causes though it is said by Nuniz that he was killed by an agent called Timmarasu under orders of the regent. Narasa Nāyaka for some reason or other did not ascend the throne but managed to secure the succession of his

own children. On the death of Narasa Nāyaka, his eldest son Vira Narasiṃhaṛāya succeeded to the crown, and with him began the Third Dynasty known as the Tuluva Dynasty of Vijayanagara.

During the regency of Tuluva Narasa Naik, there flourished two Āndhra poets who wrote conjointly like Beaumont and Fletcher in English literature or Tirupati Venkateswara Kavulu or Rama krishna Kavulu in modern Telugu literature. The two poets were Nandi Mallanna and Ghanta Singaya or Singanna. They came from Guntur district and belonged to *Āruvēla Brāhmaṇa* stock which gave the greatest number of poets to the Āndhra country. The poets were related to each other. Ghanta Singanna was the nephew of Nandi Mallanna, being his sister's son. The two poets translated *Prabōdhachandrōdayam* of Krishnamiśra into Telugu. While the Sanskrit work is a drama, the Telugu version is a free translation in the form of a *prabandha*, a type of *kāvya* peculiar to the Telugu literature in the Vijayanagar empire. For some unknown reason, the celebrated Telugu poets of this period did not write plays nor did they translate dramas as dramas into Telugu but converted everything of poetic art into the form of a *prabandha* or epic. *Prabōdhachandrōdayamu* was dedicated to that illustrious patron of Chandālūri Ganganna Mantri, the chief minister of Basavarāja, Lord of Udayagiri-rājya referred to above. How much the Andhras owe to this wise and accomplished brahmin minister, the Mæcenās of the day, can only be realised when we appreciate the estimable beauties of the two poems dedicated to him. *Prabōdhachandrōdayamu*, is a good classic. Just as Pina Vīrabhadra gave us in his translation the best romantic drama in Sanskrit literature *Abhijñāna Śakuntalam*, so these twin poets, uncle and nephew, gave in their beautiful translation the best philosophical or metaphysical drama in the Sanskrit literature. The beautiful dramatic allegory of Krishnamiśra in Sanskrit was beautifully rendered into mellifluous Telugu by these two poets. *Prabōdhachandrōdayamu* is

replete with genuine poetic feeling, grace and melody; and the poets have throughout adopted a natural, direct and unpedantic style. Barring Dagguballi Duggana, no other Andhra poet of the age showed such wonderful subtleties of rare poetic diction.

Varāhapurāṇam is the second work of these two poets. It is also a translation, from the Sanskrit Varāha Purana which deals with the story of the Boar-Incarnation of the god Viṣṇu. It was dedicated to Tuḷuva Narasa Nāyaka, the founder of the Tuḷuva dynasty and the father of Vīra Narasiṃharaya and Krishṇarāya. The poem is made very interesting by the poets by the elaboration of certain episodes with commendable poetical skill. For instance the story of Durjaya and of the sage Dharmavyādha is so beautifully enlarged by the poets that it forms a small independent *prabandha* by itself, thus forestalling the special achievements of Krishnaraya, Peddanna and Timmana.

Narasa Nāyaka died about 1505 A.D. and in that year his eldest son Vīra Narasiṃha succeeded to the throne. The king is believed by historians to have been preoccupied in the consolidation of his empire and power and had no time for the pursuit and encouragement of literature and arts. But a single Telugu poet Mārana mentions that he was rewarded by this emperor in his Royal court. Mārana wrote Mairāvana Charitra or the story of Mairāvana, the cousin of Rāvana, who came to grief at the hands of Hanumanta. In 1509, he died and his younger step-brother Krishṇadēvarāya succeeded him. Krishṇarāya was the greatest sovereign that ever sat on the jewelled-throne of Vijayanagar. During his time the empire expanded in every direction and comprised the whole of the South India as far as the Cape Comorin. He wielded the pen and the sword with equal skill and strength. He was a poet in Sanskrit and Telugu as well, and he liberally patronised the fine arts. He is one of the most versatile geniuses that ever carved their names in the pages of history. During his reign the Andhra literature reached the zenith

of glory. His period may be justly compared to the Elizabethan period of English literature, with this difference however, that whereas Elizabeth was neither a poet nor scholar but a patroness of learning, Krishṇarāya wrote in addition to his Sanskrit poems one of our best Telugu poems. His *Āmuktamālyada* is an example of the marvellous blending of vigour and cogency in style. As Krishṇarāya was a devout Vaishṇava he took up the theme of the marriage of the god Śrī Ranganātha (Viṣṇu) with the divine virgin Gōḍā as the theme of his poem. The legend is elaborated by the Emperor-poet into a poem of six cantos with several interesting episodes all tending to the establishment of the superiority of the Viṣṇava faith. Though the *Āmuktamālyada* was written by the king in the midst of his arduous military campaigns, it is on a par with the performances of the greatest Āndhra poets of his court. Krishṇadēvarāya was in the habit of taking his retinue of poets and scholars and other literary men wherever he went so that even on the battle-field, and in the midst of a campaign, he would find time to take delight in the pursuit of his hobby of literature. Several Āndhra and Karṇāṭaka and Tamil poets lived under his patronage and gratefully dedicated their Works to him. Here mention will be made of the Andhra poets alone.

Allasāni Peddana, the poet-laureate, was honoured most by the king as his friend and *guru* or preceptor. He was a brahmin of *Nandavarika* sect. Wherever he met the poet, the emperor would stop his riding elephant and offer him a lift and a seat by his side, an honour that was seldom enjoyed even by the most fortunate of the poets in the world. Peddana wrote the beautiful poem *Manucharitram* which was dedicated to the emperor, Krishṇadēvarāya. The story of the poem was apparently selected by the king himself; and the poet was commissioned to write a *prabandha* as he was considered the greatest poet of the age. The king was certainly happy in the selection of the story and the choice of the poet as well, for even to this day *Manucharitram* has not been

excelled by any other poem in the conflict of love with the sublimest moral pathos, leading up to the spiritual and the divine. The austere brāhman Pravara and the divine nymph Varūdhinī, the hero and heroine of the piece, are house-hold words in the Andhra country and, the theme of their love-conflict is a perennial source of sweet and elevated delectation. Allasāni Peddana was honoured by the emperor with the title, *Āndhrakavitāpitā-maha*, 'the Brahma of the Andhra poetry', which he richly and rightly deserved. On the occasion of accepting the dedication, the emperor in person came down to lift the palanquin in which his poet-laureate was taken in procession in the capital. And with his own hand he placed the jewelled "*Gaṇḍapendēra*" on the left leg of the poet as a mark of his deep veneration and of conferring the title as the greatest poet of the age. It was a rare and singular honour that was enjoyed by one of the greatest poets of the Āndhra language. Peddana was in fact the creator of the Renaissance in Andhra literature, if not the originator of what is called *prabandha*. His work gave a new and striking impetus to the creation and development of a new type of *kāvya* and his *Manucharitram* marks a new epoch in the history of the Andhra language and literature. Krishṇadēvarāya also granted him innumerable villages and other rich presents which are recorded in the inscriptions. Augustus could not have honoured and rewarded his Virgil more than did Krishṇadēvarāya his poet-laureate Peddana. The honour that was done to Peddana was in fact honour rendered to the Andhra language by Krishṇadēvarāya. The emperor held Telugu to be the most sweet and charming of all the language in his realm. (*Dṛṣa-bhāṣhalamdu Telugu lessa !*). Telugu is better than all the Provincial languages.

Peddana's peer at the court of Krishṇadēvarāya was Nandi Timmana, a brahman of the Āravela stock, otherwise known as Mukku Timmanna. This poet was also greatly honoured by the Emperor. Some villages and certain royal privileges were granted by the Emperor to

Timmana. Timmakavi wrote the poem *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* and dedicated it to Krishṇadēvarāya. *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* is considered to be a very sweet and charming poem. Critics are not wanting who compare *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* with *Manucharitram* and give the palm of excellence of sweetness and grace to Timmana's work. But it seems to me that the scholar-poet-king Krishṇadēvarāya was a better judge of the rare poetic genius of Peddana whom he marked out as the more gifted than the author of *Pārijātāpaharaṇam*. Timmana could only play on the pipe the soft tunes of tenderness and pathos but was unfit for the bass notes of furious passion or anguish in which Peddana excelled. In the hands of Peddana poetry is like the Indian lute or *viṇā* that can produce alike the deep and the highest as well as the soft and the lowest tunes and articulate the fullness of human voice and emotions. Peddana was thus a greater master-hand in the poetic art. *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* treats of the fine legend of Śrī Krishṇa bringing the celestial flower-tree Pārijāta from Heaven to mollify his offended queen Satyabhāma. The scenes in which the anger of the queen and the attempts of her lord to soothe her ruffled heart are described in a form and manner which form for ever the sweetest poetry in Andhra literature. Tenderness, grace, love, elegance and pathos permeate every syllable, word, and phrase and the whole piece is instilled with an atmosphere of subtle sweetness and charm, making a delightful and soft appeal to the finest sentiments of love. The poet's style is admirably suited for the spirit of the poem. The language never loses its sweet note of cadence and the whole poem looks like a long lyric, tender in thought and sweet in expression.

A third poet of the court of Krishṇarāya was Mādaya-gāri Mallana, a Śaivite Brahmin of Ayyanki in the Krishna district. He also used to follow the king in his campaigns and, it is on record that he dedicated a poem to Krishṇadēvarāya. But that poem is not forthcoming yet. What has remained to us of his literary labour is a comparati-

vely short poem *Rājāsēkharacharitramu* in three cantos which he dedicated to Nāḍendla Appayya, governor of Koṇḍavīḍu and a nephew of the great Sājuva Timmarasu, the Prime Minister of the Emperor. The story of this poem seems to be an invention of the poet or is taken from some Saivite chronicle. He treats of the marriage of prince Rājāsēkhara with the princess Kāntimati of the kingdom of Sindhu. The plot is of the conventional type of the Andhra *prabandha* school; but what is particularly noteworthy about the poem is the severe self-restraint which the poet observes in his development of the plot and also in his treatment of the sentiment of love. To add to this outstanding merit, there is the all-prevading beauty of a finished style which flows on like a rippling brook, with sweet cadences of rises and falls. It is no wonder that this short poem has been appreciated by many critics as an exquisite piece of poetic art. Another poet of the imperial court who received great honour from Krishṇadēvarāya was Dhūrjaṭi, author of the poem *Kālahastīmāhātmyamu*. Dhūrjaṭi was a Brahmin and as staunch a Saiva as Krishṇadēvarāya was a Vaishṇava; and yet it stands to the credit of this broad-minded and cultured king that differences in faith made no difference in his appreciation of worth. Though Dhūrjaṭi did not dedicate his poem to the emperor but only to his favourite deity, Śrī Kālahastīśvara, residing in the town of Kālahasti on the banks of the Svarṇamukhi, in Chittore district, yet *Kālahastīmāhātmyamu* is a passionate song of a devotee bursting from the depth of his heart. Dhūrjaṭi always wrote in rapture and his poem is aglow with passion, devotion, piety, and love of the beauties of Nature. The poet's style is inclined more to Sanskritic diction than to the simple graces of native Telugu; and yet the poem is nowhere obscure in thought or difficult to understand.

Another poet of this period who stood out from the rest like a wild mountainous peak was Sunkasāla Nṛsimha-kavi. He was a genius too proud, perhaps too vain, to own a master. His hand seems to be on every body and

everybody's hand on him. A poet gifted with the highest powers had the misfortune of receiving no patronage from that unrivalled lover of poets, Krishṇadēvarāya. The fault apparently lay in the poet and not in the illustrious patron of letters. His poem *Kavikarṇa rasāyanam*, (a significant name in itself showing his vanity) was dedicated to the god Śrī Ranganātha. In the poem he abused to his heart's content lords, kings, and everybody of any worth. The story of the poem is of king Māndhātā, a descendant of the illustrious Raghu, who married the princes Vimalāngi. The story is quite simple and short but the poet managed to stretch the poem into six cantos, chiefly by his long descriptions of various things as enjoined by the law-makers in Poetics. But his descriptions, unlike those of many of his contemporaries, are full of life and vigour as the result of shrewd and accurate observation and are, therefore, never a tiresome reading. Nṛsimhakavi swings from the extreme limit of sensualism on the one hand to that of philosophism on the other

Tāḷḷapāka China-Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha (*alias* Chinnana) belongs to this period and there is abundant reliable historical evidence for it. He belongs to a very erudite talented family that combined both poetry and music in the same persons. He is the author of two poems in *dvi-pada* or couplet metre. One is *Ashṭamahishī-kalyāṇamu* or "the marriage of Śrī Krishṇa with his eight queens." It appears to be on the whole a juvenile performance showing rich promise, but the other poem *Paramayōgi-vilāsamu* or "the history of the Vaishṇava Saints" is certainly of superior worth. The poet Chinnanna loved the *dvi-pada* metre just as Scott loved the heroic metre and exhibited his great poetical talent in making this single metrical form ring the various harmonies which the other poets succeeded in doing by adopting different metres. He dedicated his two poems to the god Śrī Venkaṭēśvara of Tirupati and His consort Alamēlu Manga of whom the poet and his fore-fathers were ardent devotees. This poet lived during Sadasivaraya's time and received presents.

There are two more poets who flourished and wrote during the last years of Krishṇadēvarāya and survived into the next reign. Ayyalarāju Rāmabhadra was asked by Krishṇarāya to translate into Telugu the Sanskrit poem *Sakala kathā sāra-saṁgrahamu* which the king himself wrote in his youth, but Krishṇarāya was not destined to live long to see the work of Rāmabhadra's translation. Rāmabhadra Kavi wrote another poem, *Rāmābhyudayamu* or the story of Rāma and dedicated it to the god Śrī Rāma in Vontimetṭa (Ontimetṭa) in Cuddapah district. This is a free adaptation of the Sanskrit Kavyam "Rāmābhyudayamu" generally attributed to the Poet-Emperor Saluva Nrisimharaya (A. D. 1484) but really written by Arunagiranatha Dindima the court-poet of the king. This poet is fond of alliteration and *ślēṣa* or verbal jingles but his verse is smooth and mellifluous and shows genius in convention.

The second poet in the closing days of Krishṇadēva was Chintalapudi Yellana, a poet of great talent and much industry. Only three of his many poems are available to us. The first of them *Rādhā-Mādhavam* was considered by Krishṇadēvarāya so beautiful that he dubbed the poet with the title of the poem itself, "Rādhā-Mādhava Kavi". This poem shows the juvenile work of a poet of promise. His next poem *Tāraka-Brahmarājīyam* is a more mature performance and shows real poetic insight. But his best work is his last poem "*Vishṇu Māya Nāṭakamu*" containing a series of tales showing the almightiness of Vishṇu. Yellana Kavi seems to forestall the art of Pingali Sūranāya. Yellana's second poem *Tāraka Brahmarājīyam* was written at the instance of Nanja Timmayya, a Minister of King Achyutadēvarāya (1530—1542), the successor of Krishṇadēvarāya.

IV *The Āraṇḍu Epoch, 1542—1565:*— Krishṇarāya died in 1530 and was succeeded by his younger step-brother Achyutadēvarāya, the elder son of Narasa Nāyaka by his third wife. This King was rather indolent and pleasure-loving. He died in 1542. His

young son Venkataraya then came to the throne. Salakam Timmayya, his maternal uncle, acted as the Regent; but Araviṭi Rāmarāya, the son-in-law of Krishṇarāya opposed him. A civil war began. Rāmarāya triumphed and Timmayya committed suicide. Sadāsivarāya, son of Rangarāya, the fourth son of Narasa Nāyaka was set up as the emperor by Rāmarāya who became the Regent and the virtual king. With him began the fourth dynasty named the Āravīḍu dynasty. Like the Tuluva family, the Āravīḍu dynasty was an Andhra family of Kshatriyas.

Rāmarāya continued the policy of Krishṇadēvarāya and consolidated the empire. He was regent first and *defacto* emperor next and reigned from 1542 to 1565. In the decisive battle of Talikōṭa or Rakkasa Tagḍi (1565) Rāmarāya fell and the glory of Vijayanagar empire was overshadowed. Though the empire of Vijayanagar was shattered, yet the literary patronage became the fashion of the kings and their chiefs for a long time after.

In Rāmarāya's court, flourished the Andhra poet Bhaṭṭumurty, a Kshatriya (*Bhaṭ-rāju*) of the heraldic class. He was a disciple of Allasāni Peddanna and, one of the greatest scholar-poets of Andhra literature. He was so much liked by the King that he became known by the title Rāmarāja-bhūṣhaṇa or 'the jewel of Rāmarāja's court'. He wrote three poems; and every one of them reveals his profound scholarship, but curiously enough none, his culture. Though he was called Rāmarāja-bhūṣhaṇa, no work was dedicated to his patron Rāmarāya. The first poem was *Narasa-bhūpālīyam* a work on poetics; it was dedicated to Rāmarāya's sister's son, Gobbūri Narasarāya. The second poem, *Harischandra Nalōpākhyānamu*, a '*dvyarthi kāvya*', in which each verse conveys two meanings, one relating to the epic hero Hariśchandra and the other to the mythical king Nala, was dedicated to the God Śrī Rāma. But his third poem, the best of all his works, *Vasucharitramu* was dedicated to the Emperor Tirumalarāya, Rāmarāya's brother and successor. So it must have been completed after the battle of Talikōṭa. *Vasu-*

charitramu is a work of rare genius, so much so that it had the singular good fortune of being translated into Sanskrit. The story deals with the marriage between king Vasu and Princess Girika, the daughter of the river Suktimati and the mountain Kōlāhala. This beautiful idyllic legend is narrated by the poet with marvellous skill and taste. Throughout this poem the chief *alaṅkāra* is *dhvani* or suggestion which has been worked up by *śleṣha* or harmony of words. This feature is a very rare phenomenon and can only be managed by a gifted scholar and poet. In English literature a similar thing was attempted by John Keats, in his *Endymion*.

A contemporary of Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa sought the patronage of the feudatory chiefs of Nandyal who were the first cousins of Rāmarāya. He was Pingali Sūrana, of the Āruvēla brahmin sect belonging to the Guntur District. As the kingdom of Vijayanagar was no more, this young poet sought the patronage of petty kings who set up semi-independent states of their own. His first poem *Rāghava Pāṇḍavīyam* is the first *dvyartha kāvya* in Andhra Literature and it was imitated by his rival Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa in his *Harischandra Nalōpākhyānamu*. This poem was dedicated to the chief of Ākuviḍu in the Kurnool district. His next poem, *Kaṭāpūrṇodayam* is a unique performance in the world of letters, the like of which is nowhere seen in any literature and was dedicated to Nandyala Krishṇam Raju, a feudatory of the Vijayanagar Empire. The story is entirely an invention of the poet and is composed by him in such an intricate manner that very often it is a puzzle to scholars. The poet managed to weave into the story several independent strands so that it is capable of more than one interpretation. There is a metaphysical interpretation of the story, an erotic and yet a historical one. Such triple or quadruple weaving is a literary marvel and this was done by the daring genius of Pingali Sūrana. His third poem, *Prabhāvatī Pradyumnamu* is equally original because of its inter-weaving of the main plot with the sub-plots as in a

drama. This poem was dedicated by him to his own father as a token of filial affection and gratitude. His art was quite original but his style was even more so. Therein he shook off the conventional shackles and emerged into a glory of his own. Colloquial ease and freedom are the dominant notes and yet how shrewdly and skilfully he weaves his subtle thoughts into terse and racy Telugu cannot be described in words. The Āndhra scholar alone can enjoy this literary feast.

Suranarya is nearly the last of the giants of this period of Titans. Yet there was another great poet at this time, who may also be considered a giant. Tenāli Rāmakrishna lived during the time of Krishnarāya and tradition associates him with the court of the king. There is ample historical evidence to show that he was Krishnarāya's younger contemporary. Rāmakrishna's house name was Tenali in the Guntur District. He was originally a Saivaite by name Ramalinga. As such he wrote a beautiful poem "Udbhatāradhya Charitra" which treats of the life and achievements of a Saivaite devotee 'Udbhatāradhya'. This poem contains real poetry and is the best of his three works available to us.

After he became a Vaishnava he changed his name into Rāmakrishṇa and wrote the long poem "Pānduranga-mahātmyam" or the story of the Viṣṇu god Pānduranga of Pandarpura. This is a great classic in Andhra literature, chiefly on account of the vehement flow of rapturous language, wave after wave, in endless succession. It is a very difficult poem to understand as the poet seems to have a fondness for obscure words, rarely used by other poets and only to be found in lexicons. However, the diction is kept up by him at white heat, and the musical flow of language holds the reader under spell! but as poetry *Perse*—it is not so good as Udbhatāradhya charitra. His third poem is "Ghatikachala Mahātmyam" which is a dry piece of word—tissue and has no real poetry in it. It was dedicated to a certain Maharatta Brahman chieftain, Khandoji Rao, whose identity is still under

investigation by me. Ghatikachelam is only Sholingur in North Arcot. The Nrisimhaswami in that temple has been described. I am sorry to have to say that Tenali Ramakrishna gradually descended, step by step, from real poetry to the worst word-tissues and word jingles in the last years of his life and thus formed a perfect contrast to Pingali Suranarya, his great contemporary.

Other poets of less importance wrote poems chiefly of the *Prabandha* class which were imitations of this or that poet. The members of the royal families of Tuluva and Āravīḍu dynasties were many of them either poets themselves or patrons of poets. Consequently, even after the disruption of the Empire, Andhra literature flourished in their hands. It is not the purpose of this article to pursue the course of literary history in the petty kingdoms of Madura, Tanjore, Pudukkōṭa, Chandragiri, Nandyal and others into which the great Empire was split. So, I will only mention the names of celebrated poets, like Chēmākūra Venkanna, Timmakavi the author of *Paramayōgi-vilāsam*, Rangaparāju the author *Sāmbopākhyānam* and king Raghunātha of Tanjore and many others too numerous to mention. I cannot close this Review without giving my opinion of Chēmākūra Venkata kavi, a great poet, He wrote two poems *Sārangadhara Charitra* and *Vijaya Vilāsam*, which have great influence on modern poetic thought. Now, I close this paper with a fervent prayer that my Andhra scholar brothers would devote their attention to the literary treasures left to us by the kings of Vijayanagar and their great vassals of Nandyal, Tanjore and Madura in the richest period of their political glory and literary renaissance.

THE ART HERITAGE OF THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE.

by

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According to our ancient Silpa Sastras, like the Mānasāra Āgama, Kāsyapiya, Bhārata Nāṭya Śāstra etc. and our Mānava Dharma Śāstra, as well as our Purāṇas, Art, like every other human activity, must be pointed towards the quadruple ends, namely, dharma, artha, kama and moksha. The concentration made to attain the synthesis of these four objects has been beautifully described by the phrase, 'Yogah karmasu kausalam', in the Bhagavadgita (II, 50). Thus, art while helping to attain every earthly felicity must procure spiritual benefit also to its practiser. It becomes mortal and transcient only so far as the mundane benefits and the media adopted to secure them are concerned. But the thought and its essence are ever immortal, are ever fresh and peaceful, and are ever auspicious and beautiful'. A thing of beauty is a joy for ever in the words of John Keats. This Trinity, '*Śāntam, Sīvam, Sundaram*', sums up the highest art endeavour in all its triune stages, the conception, the execution and the fruition.

Our Silpa Sastras defined the Silpi as the one who conceives of the Divine in an earthly mould and executes his conception in a manner that fails not to suggest not merely the divine attributes of infinity, perfection, power, and 'sweetness and light', but also the divine hand in it. Thus Indian Art has been idealistic and not merely realistic. The Silpi is an architect who builds up forms and endows them with life and vigour. These forms may be of masonry, may be of colour, may be of sound and sense, may be of grace, and may be of a rhythmic combination of all or any of them. Thus the literateur who deals in words and sounds as envisaged by Walter Pater is also a Silpi.

The artist is therefore another Visvakarma, the creator, and his best adoration of the Divine lies in an

emulation of the Divine. Whatever beautiful and lovely there are that have been created by him in sound, form, tint and smell, become the basis and the inspiration for the artist to create in his own delimited sphere to which all he adds is his own personal touch with the result that there comes into being his own individuality. The artist is not really conscious of this although the world is, that enjoys him and his productions, and marks him thus. There is a transfiguration and a transmutation of the earthly types into the heavenly, glowing as they do with the halo of other-worldliness. These art products establish an inviolable link between the earth and the heavens. In other words and in the words of Sri Samkara, the Self paints the Supreme Self on the canvas of the manifold words and seeing but itself enjoys great delight. From the brain-lab of the artist, the Here issues out into the Hereafter with the tints of the past and the present into a tint of the future, an acme of perfection of everything he would become ultimately.

The Vijayanagar Empire which came as a blessing to the South Indian Hindus was founded upon a synthesis of the Hindu ideals in every walk of life. It was achieved through the efforts of the advaitic Vidyāranyācharya, his brother the great Vedic commentator Sāyanācharya, the visistādvaitic Vedamta Desikācharya, Vyāsa-rayācharya etc., and the creeds of Jainas, Jangamas, and Lingayets. It was a benevolent confederacy formed of all the Satrapies and the Hindu kingdoms in the south. The statement of Bukkadeva-Raya, its founder, made in the arbitration between the Jains and the Visistādvaitins

“There is no difference between the two for as long as the sun and the moon endure the Vaishnava creed will continue to protect the Jaina Darsana”, as well as Barbosa’s observation that there was a synthesis of religious toleration and friendliness in the Empire, testify to the solid foundations of the same. It “symbolised all that was best in South Indian culture”. The Vijayanagar Emperors proclaimed themselves the custodians

of the ancient traditions of the land "Pūrva paddhati or maryāda". In matters spiritual their policy was the protection of Dharma in the widest sense of Manu: "Abstention from injuring, veracity, abstention from unlawfully appropriating the goods of others, purity and control of the organs". To all the *varnāshramas* or the limbs of the social order they proclaimed themselves oft and anon, in the terms, "Sakala varnāshrama dharmagalu pratipālisuvadu". In matters of literary and artistic effort the rulers observed a strict impartiality. Patronage was extended by its Emperors to all languages, Samskrit, Telugu, Kannada and Tamil, although they were purely kannadigas till probably the Araveedu usurpers got in. Commercially, the empire traded upto Portugal in the west, and China in the north-east for more than three centuries. It attained its highest brilliance during the time of Sri Krishnadeva Raya (1509-1529 A. D.), and became a marvel to other Indian kingdoms as well as the foreigners like the Portugese and the Persians. According to Abdul Razaaq, the Persian ambassador, the Empire had 300 ports each of which was equal to Calicut.

Do the historic remains and art traditions which we still have with us scattered over the Bellary District and elsewhere testify to this state? There are not however many surviving examples of the Buddhistic art traditions in the ruins at Hampi. Although Hinduism dominated the life and thought of the majority still the futile race Jainism ran with it in the early days of the Empire has left some Art forms, Bastis on Hemakuta, monolith Thirthankaras at Karkal, Sravana — Belogola and Jaina literature, both in Samskrit and Kannada languages.

1. The Capital and the Fortifications.

The selection and the construction of the capital at Hampi, calling it Vidyanagar, which became Vijayanagar during Sri Krishnadevaraya's time, satisfies the art injunctions laid down in Sukraniti:

"In a place that abounds in various trees, plants and

shrubs and is rich in cattle, birds, and other animals, that is endowed with good sources of water and supplies and of grains, and is happily provided with resources in grasses and woods, that is bestirred by the movements of boats upto the seas, and is not far from the hills, and that is an even-grounded picturesque plain, the Ruler should build the capital".

Only the conditions "upto the seas" and "even-grounded" are not satisfied. To the medieval mind Hampi admirably fulfilled all the other requisites. "Seven" is a mystic number: for, we have seven seas, seven constellations, seven svaras, seven dhatus, seven tongues of fire, and seven strides about the fire that unite man and woman in an endeavour to find happiness to themselves and others. At Hampi we have the famous seven hills, the Hēmakūta, the Rishyasringa, the Matunga, the Anjani Parvatha, the Mālyavantha, the Sugriva-khilla and the Jāmbavantha, all enclosing a region full of water and luscious vegetation. According to Paes who visited the capital Vijayanagara, the city was situated amidst these hills. As he notes.

"This range of hills surrounds the city with a circle of twenty-four leagues and within this range there are others that encircle it closely. Whenever these ranges have level ground they cross it with a very strong wall, in such a way that the hills remain all closed, except in places where the roads come through from the gates in the first range, which are entrance ways to the city."

Varthema confirms this and states,

"It is seven miles in circumference..... It occupies the most beautiful site and possesses the best air that was ever seen.

Nikitini says,

"This vast city.....is surrounded by three forts and intercepted by a river, bordering on one side on a dreadful jungle, on the other on a dale; a wonderful place, and to any place convenient."

Although that part of the story of "The Hare and the Hounds" which says that Vidyaranya advised Harihara I to construct the capital in 1336 A. D. cannot easily be gulped down, in the face of the present historical research, yet, the beautiful location and the great spiritual affinity to Lord Virūpāksha which prompted Vidyaranya to select it and advise Bukka I (1353-1379) who really began the construction in 1368, thirty-two years later and completed the same in or about 1378, naming it Vidyanagara, has to be believed. Pampa (Hampi) is the ancient Samskrit name for Thungabhadra. It occurs in the royal grant of the Western Chālukyan Ruler Vinayāditya Satyāśraya (689—90). It was a town of great celebrity which according to an inscription dated 1018—1019 A. D. was visited by the Western Chālukyan Ruler Jagadēka Malla Jayasimha. It was visited by the Chōla kings Raja Raja I (11th Cen. A. D.), and Raja Raja III (13th Cen. A. D.), while the Hoysala King Someswara, grand-father of Vira Ballala III, "The upholder of the four castes — Chatus samaya samuddharana" made a grant to Virupaksha in 1236 A.D. In 1112 A.D. the Western Chalukyan General Mahadeva called Hampi as the "Swami Pampa Sthala" in his Grant to the deity.

Sukraniti enjoins that the capital should have the beautiful shape of a half-moon or a circle or a square (II, III, 429—30). Although we have no evidence as regards the details of the plan of the capital, a rough outline could yet be reconstructed with the tips we get from the accounts of Paes, Abdul Razaaq, and others. In all probability it would have been a gibbous moon or a circle, and not a square, for the hilliness of the country would not have permitted a rectangular form. The points of the compass were presided over by different deities, according to the beliefs of the Hindus. And over Vijayanagar there was the Ranamandala Bhairava, to whom a temple and a mantapa are said to have been erected by Sri Krishnadeva Raya.

A belt of impenetrable forest formed the first line of defence. "The country 'says Farishta' is full of fastnesses

and woods almost impenetrable to troops. The second line of defence was an enclosure about fifty yards deep dotted with half-sunken rocks that made it impossible to the enemy to push forward their cavalry divisions..... It is so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other. Beyond the circuit of the outer wall there is an esplanade extending for about fifty yards in which stones are fixed near one another to the height of a man; are half buried firmly in the earth, and the other half rises above it so that neither foot nor horse, however, bold can advance with facility near the outer wall." Behind the stones came the third line of defence, mentioned by Abdul Razaaq, the massive walls of stone, range within range, with fortified bastions in everyone of them. Seven walls encircled the city which hummed with life.

Abdul Razaaq gives the distances: From the northern gate of the outer fortress to the southern is a distance of two statute Parsangas (ie. about 7 miles), and the same with respect to the distance between the eastern and the western gates. This city has three fortresses with another which is the King's palace." About the triple circle of walls Varthema and Paes agree. According to Nicolo Conti who visited the capital in the 15th century A. D., the circumference of the city was sixty miles. According to Sewell the city might be 12 miles by 10 miles, a statement which confirms Conti.

Paes describes the gates etc.: "Two leagues from where you arrive at the city... You have a very lofty serra which has passes by which you enter... These are called gates. You have to enter by these, for you will have no means of entrance except by them. This range of hills surrounds the city with a circle of 24 leagues and within this range there are others that encircle it closely..... Between the first, the second and the third walls there are cultivated fields, gardens and houses. From the third to the seventh fortress, shops and bazaars are closely crowded together. By the palace of the King there are four bazaars, situated opposite to one another."

Another historian describes the location of the fortifications: "The first line of fortification refers to that at the neck of two hills, south-west of Hospet. The second line of wall must have been at the present Hospet town. The third was on the north of Hospet. The fourth line is visible on the south of Malpanagudi village, north of which is the fifth line of wall where there is still a massive gateway. The sixth fortification could be traced to the south of Kamalapuram tank. The seventh line of walls is the inner-most of the existing long lines of the great wall enclosing the palace and other public buildings, measuring about $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles from east to west and one mile from north to south," as Sewell with great trouble confirms.

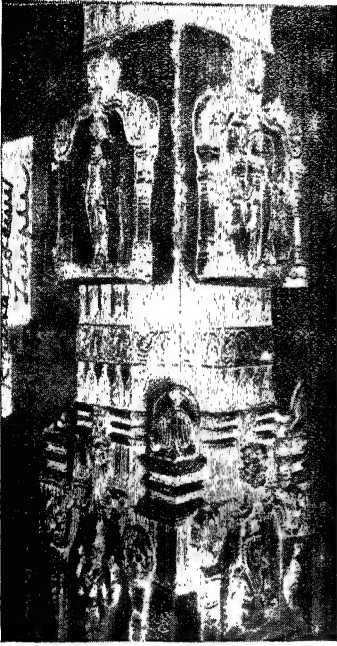
Gangadevi, the Queen of Kumara Kampanna (son of Bukka I) describes the various beauties of the capital in I, vv, 43-66, of her Madhura Vijayam, and likens it to the capital of Indra (Amaravathi), the Lord of Gods. We may not quite agree with her poetic excesses, but her lines, "Chakrāchala prakārēna prakārēna parishruta (The capital with the structures therein looks circular in shape), "Sumēru sringa samkasai gopuraih upasōbhita (It has towers which are round and dazzle like the golden Meru), "Utpulla champakāsōka nāgakāsara kēsarah, vasanthavāsa bhuvanaih āramaih abhitōvruta (Its structures are in the pattern of the Nāga and the Kēsara styles with Spring-gardens and pleasure grounds full of lotus ponds and beflowered with the champaka and asōka trees), are statements of facts vouchsafed by Duarte Barbosa when he said that in this place were very large "and handsome palaces with numerous courts in which are many mounds, pools of water with plenty of fish, gardens of shrubs, flowers, and sweet-smelling herbs."

II. Painting and the Dancing Saloon.

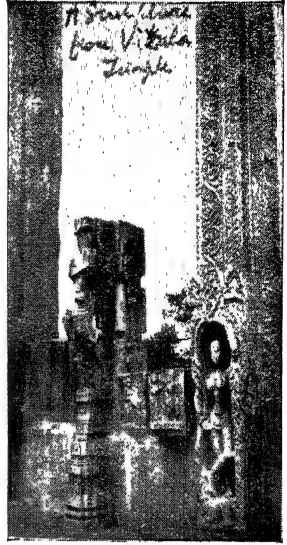
There are now no good examples of any ancient Painting of the Vijayanagar times anywhere over the Temple walls or ceilings at Hampi. There are, however, a few present in the palace at Anegundi, which are crude

and resemble at their best the Pot-paintings in Bengal. Domingo Paes who visited Vijayanagar in the reign of Sri Krishnadevaraya, when culture is said to have attained to its highest, describes the Dancing Saloon thus;

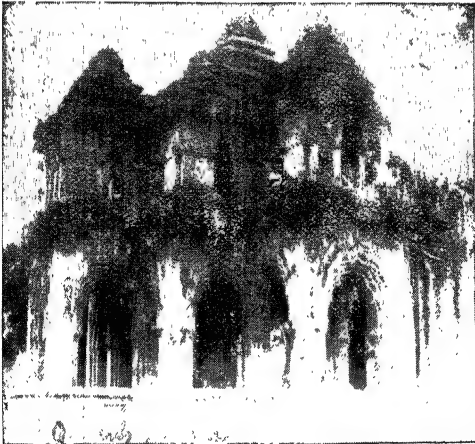
"This hall is where the King sends his women to be taught to dance. It is a long hall and not very wide, all of stone sculpture on pillars which are at a distance of quite an arm's length from the wall. These pillars stand in that manner in all around the building; they are half pillars made with other hollows all gilt. In the supports (or pedestals) on the top are many great beasts like elephants and of other shapes; it is open so that the interior is seen and there are on the inner side of these beasts other images each placed according to its character, there are also figures of men turned back to back and other beasts of (other sort) different sorts. In each case from pillar to pillar is a crowbar (architrave) which is like a panel, and from pillar to pillar are many such panels; there are images of old men, gilded and of the size of a cubit. Each of the panels has one placed this way. These images are over all the building. And on the pillars are other images, smaller, with other images yet more subordinate and other figures again, in such a way that I saw this work gradually diminishing the size from on those pillars with their designs, from pillar to pillar, and each time smaller by the size of a span as it went on becoming lost, the most beautiful dome I ever saw. Between these images and pillar runs a design of foliage, like plates (a meneyra de lamine) all gilt with reverses of leaves in red and blue, the images that are on the pillars are stags and other animals and they are painted in colours with the pink on their faces; but the other images seated on the elephants as well as on the panels, are all dancing women having little drums (tom-toms). The designs of these panels show a position at the end of dances in such a way



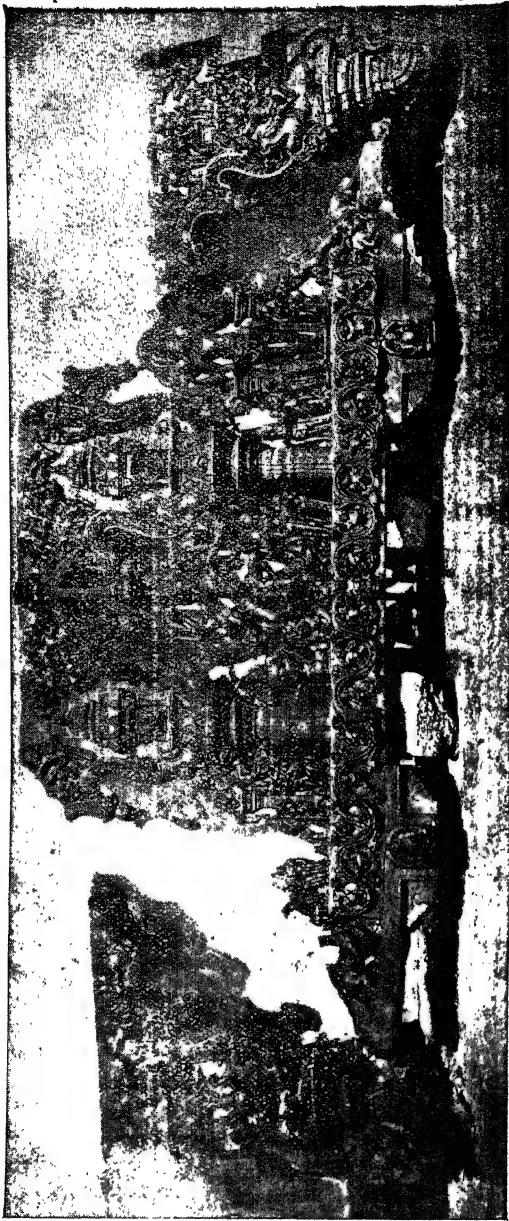
కృష్ణస్వామి దేవళమండలి స్తంభశిల్పములు.



విఠలాలయ గుమ్మము, శిల్పములు.



రాణివాసము,



Sculptures newly discovered at Kāmalapuram-Makara Torana-Nata Raja.

కమలాపురముందు దొరికిన నూతన శిల్పములు.

that on each panel there is a dancer in such a position at the end of a dance; this is to teach the women, so that if they forget the position in which they have to remain when the dance is done they may look at one of the panels where is the end of that dance. By that they keep in mind what they have to do... .. At the end of this house on the other hand is a panel recess where the women cling on with their hands in order better to stretch and loosen their bodies and legs; there they teach them to make the whole body supple in order to make their dancing more graceful. At the other end on the right, is the place where the King places himself to watch them dancing, all the floors and walls where he sits are covered with gold and in the middle of the wall is a golden image of a woman of the size of a girl of twelve years, with her arms in a position which she occupies in the end of a dance."

It will not be, I suppose, too much to expect from this detailed picture of the saloon and the exquisite taste of the ruler that there should have existed most of the dancing poses scrupulously executed on the panels as prescribed by Bharata in his *Natya-Sastra*. Nor would such an inference be unnatural if we remember that culture in every branch of learning had attained zenith during the time of Sri Krishnadevaraya, and that the Ruler himself was a great artist in music and literature. It is related that he had learnt music from Krishna (ancestor of Raghavendra Tirtha) and Bandhem Lakshmi Narayana (author of *Sangita Suryodaya*) respectively. In this connection his patronage to the Vaishnavite mystics and singers like Kanaka Dasa, Purandhara Dasa, and the fact that by this time Kallinatha's exhaustive elucidation of Bharata's musical theory by way of the former's Commentary (1420) of Sarngadeva's *Sangita Ratnakara* (1220 A.D) had been published. Besides, in his own reign the celebrated works on music *Sadraga Chandrodaya* (1510-25), and *Raga Manjari* (1525-40) of

Pundarika Vittala had been published. If one scans the above statement of Paes one would wonder if the latest perfection at Hollywood could have devised a better Dancing Saloon,

It is a pity that the Dancing Saloon is not existing even in ruins. But there is, however, a mantapa opposite the Kalyana-Mantapa in the Vittalswami Temple with its stone platform and the rich frieze of musicians, drummers, etc., to suggest the exquisite pattern of the Saloon described above. This Mantapa might have been used for musical concerts of devadasis during the temple utsavams at which Sri Krishnadevaraya clad in impeccable white raiment filigreed in gold roses, and decked in the fine dazzle of precious gems was present.

The surviving examples of the Vijayanagar Painting now in the Temples of Papananeswara at Lepakshi (1535AD. Hindupur Tq. Anantapur Dt.) Chenna Kesava at Somapalli (1550 A. D. Madanapalli Tq. Chittoor Dt.) Varadaraja at Kanchipuram. Visveswara at Hampi, and in the palace at Anegondi (15th Cen.), although they suggest a style distinct from that of the paintings at Sithanivassal, Mamandur, Ellora and Tanjore of the period between the first and the seventh centuries A. D. which were based partly upon the indigenous pot-styles and partly upon the Jain styles, do not present us with the best of their types. Despite the grace and the rhythm present in the lines in the Natarajic conception of Siva a dance upon the symbolic demon of ignorance, and in the Gowri-Prasada—Siva appeasing the khandita type of Parvathi, the best of Lepakshi — these look effeminate lacking as they do the virility and sublimity of the Siva types evident in the sculptures at Elephanta, or in the South Indian bronzes. These examples at Elephanta and of the bronzes seem to have closely followed the art injunctions laid down in Kasyapa Silpa Sastras.

The historical research has, however, established that this aspect of art also shot to its zenith during the time of Sri Krishnadevaraya, but declined by and by and as

Fr. du Jarric had observed that during the days of Venkata II (1584-1614) there was a huge importation of Portugese Painters for his court. The reason is not far to seek. It is quite likely that in the political intrigues and a life of dissipation after Krishnadevaraya's reign, and the final convulsion of the Empire in 1565 A. D, no due encouragement was given to the Vijayanagar Painters to continue their excellent traditions.

Mr Paramasivan divides the Vijayanagar Paintings into three groups: (1) as those consisting of paintings that existed at Vijayanagar when Paes visited it, as well those at Anegundi and in the Virupakshaswami Temple at Hampi; (2) as those consisting of paintings at Lepakshi and Sompalli. These belong approximately to a period immediately after Sri Krishnadevaraya; so there may not be much difference in quality between them, and those of the first group as Dr. Venkataramanayya has observed. Because of the loss of the best among the two groups, and as a matter of fact the nonsurvival of any in the Virupaksha Temple which seems to have undergone continual renovations during the centuries, we are not able to find out the premises of Dr. Venkataramanayya's conclusions. In group (3) we have the type of art that flourished during the time of Venkata II as aforesaid. The paintings in the Brihadeswara Temple at Tanjore (1646-47) of the days of Vijaya Raghava Nayaka, embrace, besides, the portraiture of the sthala puranas of Tanjore deities, scenes from the lives of the Siva saints such as Kannappan and Chandeswara, and representations of Trimurthis in their various manifestations. There has been a divergence already; and no consideration of the art under the Nayaka kings at Tanjore and Madura is warranted except the conclusion that however much they had emulated the Vijayanagar Kings, their art has undergone a further degeneracy with the result, that in the place of the graceful, rhythmic and reposeful line and colour of the Chola paintings based upon the Ajantan types, the degenerated Vijayanagar artist of this last phase of the Vijayanagar

Empire had substituted his own crude and heavy sweeps that often blind the eye.

Paintings generally are less permanent than sculpture. That gives the true reason why our ancients who aimed at permanence in every activity of life preferred the stone and the metal to plaster or cloth or paper mediums for the depiction of their art conceptions. If paintings were indulged in at all, they were done through the fresco-buono process on well-laid wet plaster in order that the colour laid might permeate into the wet back-ground, as in the Ajantan types, and settle into the fairly permanent tonal types. But the Vijayanagar artists seem to have generally employed the less permanent fresco-secco method wherein the pigments mixed with mere lime water were laid on a mere dry plaster surface. This super-imposition flaked off much sooner than the disappearance in the former process. This explains why there is this paucity of the Vijayanagar types of painting surviving today.

There was real Nagarikata or civilization in the life of the Vijayanagarians, as described in Vatsayana's *Kamasutra*. The Rani's Bath, and the evidence of gardens in the zenana enclosure testify to this. The people loved to be surrounded with paintings done on the walls of their dwellings. Their subject-matter embraced not only the stories of gods and heroes of the Hindu mythology, but also the erotic flair of the Romances of Rati and Manmatha, Rambha and Nalākubara, Urvashi and Pururava, Menaka and Visvamisra, and Krishna and Gopikas. This is substantiated by the literary works of the Vijayanagar rule dominated by the Vaishnava Cult.

III. Music.

Markandeya in Part III, Ch. 2, Verses 1—9 of the *Vishnu Dharmottara* stresses on the fact that the Art of Dance is at the base of all aspects of Art, and that it could not be properly understood without a knowledge of music. For music sways the emotion, and Dance is the graceful representation of the contortions the physical body

takes in the play of the emotion over it. He also adds that the science of music cannot be grasped without knowing the rules of singing. The reason is not far to seek: for, nowhere among the graphical arts the sense and beauty of rhythm, which is the essence of all Art, can be better conveyed than in dancing. It is, therefore, necessary to ascertain in what stage this science of Music stood during the Vijayanagar reign.

Between 100 B.C. and 1450 A.D., that is for a period of about fifteen and a half centuries Bharata's system prevailed both in its Marga (Orthodox) and Desi (Provincial) styles. Although some texts on Music like Nandikeswara's, Dattila's (Brihad-desi), Kohala's, Parsvadeva's alias Sangitakara's (Sangita Samaya Sara), Sargndeva's (Sangita Ratnakara), Vidyaranya Madhava Charya's (Sangita Sara), King Sarvagna Singana's (Sangita Sudhakara), Pedda Komati's (Sangita Chintamani), Viceroy Salva Gopa Thippa's (Tala Dipika), and Devanna Bhatta's (Sangita Muktavali) etc., existed, no serious attempts had ever been made to systematize the science and clarify the statements of the most ancient text of Bharata. Sangita Ratnakara of Sargndeva (1220) A. D. the most comprehensive of the lot and supposed to be an elucidation of Bharata was itself abstruse and needed a genuine clearing. It was the Vijayanagar King Immadi Devaraya who patronized Chatura Kallinatha alias Kollarasa alias Kallamatya that made him write his encyclopaedic commentary on Sargndeva's Sangita Ratnakara in 1490 A. D. In this attempt this commentary originated a new mode of classification of Ragas or melodic types on a Mela-Padhati (basis on genus) setting out technical rules for the development of these Melas or distinct family groupings of melodies. Before him all melody types seem to have been grouped under two Gramas. The artistes had been active but with affecting some slight modifications to certain melodic types of the Madhyamagrama in order to absorb them into the Shadjamagrama, with the result that there was a danger of losing the entity of some of the Ragas in the

bargain. Kallinatha by introducing a new terminology saved them from extinction, and evolved an arrangement to include and mark off all melodic types on a consistent basis, which he called Mela Padhati.

During the times of the Saluvas and Tuluvas many works of Art inclusive of Music seem to have been written. Many of them have now disappeared. Only two works, one Sangita Suryodaya by Bandham Lakshminarayana, master of Music to Sri Krishnadevaraya, and Svaramela-kalanidhi (1550) of Ramamatya Todara Malla, a Governor of the Empire and a contemporary of Pundarika Vittala have come to light. They are not epochal as Kollarata's or Pundarika Vittala's Sadraga Chandrodaya (1510—15) Raga Manjari (1525—40) Ragamala (1540—55) and Natana Nirnaya (1555—64). The first two are by far the most important for the reason that in the first, Sadraga Chandrodaya, he discusses Mela Prastara in consonance with Kallinatha's principles, and in the second, Raga Manjari, he defines his conclusions which are very far reaching. He lays down tentatively 90 Melas to base the melodic types in use till then. He hoped the number would be more. It is an irony of fate that this Kannadiga of the Karnataka Vijayanagar Empire, and a native of the proximate Mysore State was not duly honoured by Sri Krishnadevaraya, but had to be patronized by the Moghul Sultans at Delhi, becoming as he did a sort of a guru to the celebrated Gopal Naik and Tansen. It is his system that seems to be current in the world of the Karnataka Music.

Although Ramamatya seems to have adopted to some extent Pundarika's terminology, does not seem to have understood him fully. As some musical Savants observe he seems to have made quite a mess of himself in his conceptions of Sruthis and his demonstrations of the same on the Veena. These are not warranted by the principles laid down for the same in the works of his celebrated predecessors like Bharata, Sargndeva and Kallinatha.

Venkatamachin, the author of Chaturdandi Prakasika a work on Music, with whom we are not directly

concerned for he lived in the Tanjore Court, is the son of the famous Govinda Dikshita, the real author of Sangita Sudha which passed under the name of the King Raghunatha. Musical Pandits are not satisfied with him too, for they say he is another bundle of contradictions on the scientific aspect of music. He seems to have arrived at his own number, 72, of the Melas following Ramamatya's notions of srutis. Despite his pedantary and sometimes of insolence he seems to have stressed on the practical effect of some sthayis on ordinary ears and laid down only 72 Melas. As against Pundarika Vittala's more abstract principles thereto, the South Indian School of Music seems to follow Venkatamachins denomination sanctioned by normal experience. We are not able to understand Vidvan Krishna Charya's statement "that the total number of Melas comes to 162" unless it is the sum of the simple addition of 90 to 72 in the spirit of give and take of the present political democracy.

IV. Architecture and Sculpture.

The early years of the Empire seem to have been exclusively devoted for a unification of the various disruptive legacies left by the 12th and 13th centuries. Its founders were therefore absorbed in a confederacy against the Mohemadan onslaught from the North. So the early style in architecture was but an imitation of the simple style of the kadamba period without much of ornateness or decoration. The Jain Bastis on the Hemakuta and on the way to the Vittalaswami Temple, just near Chakratirtha, and the Gannagitti Temple at Hampi built by Irugappa, a Jain General of Harihara I in 1385 to the East of the Queen's Bath, evidence the horizontal stages of the Kadamba Vimanas. The temple of Kadlekalu Ganapati on the Hemakuta (with the huge monolith of the God), the date of which is not yet determined with its simple rectangular and horizontal design and the restrained carving of the gods of the Hindu Pantheon on its square-cut pillars, also supports such a theory. The images of Ganesa here and in the Sasivekalu Ganapati Temple,

as well as the huge monolith image of Yoga Narasimha made during the time of Sri Krishnadevaraya, have all the simple, unsophisticated grandeur (without the Hoysala floridness of detail and subtle carving) unlike that of the sculpture at either Belur or Halebid or Somanathapur. These images are reminiscent of the sublime sculptural types of Elephanta (8th cent. A.D.). With the rise into power of the Vijayanagar Kings, and their close association with the Hoysalas, and especially during the brilliant reign of Sri Krishnadevaraya, the Chalukyan and Hoysala forms and their detailed technique seem to have been freely indented upon to decorate their capital. There would have been really an out-heroding of Herod if only the material had been as soft and yielding as the soap-stone and the green-granite had been available round about Hampi. There is, however, a blend of the Dravidian, the Aryavarcha, the Chalukyan and the Hoysala styles, most artistically grouped together in all the vast and extensive temples like the Vittalaswami, the Krishnaswami, and the Achyutaraya existing today.

Sri Virupaksha Temple.

The most ancient of all the Hampi Temples is that of Sri Virupaksha, called variously as 'Pampapathi Temple', 'Swami Pampa Sthala' etc. It derived its name Pampapathi through its location on the bank of the Tungabhadra river which had been called Pampa. Its exact ancestry has not yet been historically determined, except that of the fact that it was in existence together with the village around it as early as even the 7th cen. A. D. and was the recipient of the royal grants already referred to. The Hindu religiosity in many instances raises towns of celebrity round the celebrated deities of their own predilection, and the places are called after the chief gods who preside over the locality. Thus temples are usually anterior to the residential places. Hampi is also widely known as Dakshina Kasi or the Southern Benares. Vyasamuni has devoted two special cantos or skandas in his famous and encyclopaedic Skanda-Purana, one the

Kasi-Khandam celebrating the glory of Sri Visveswara of Benares in the North, and the other the Hemakuta-Khandam celebrating the glory of Sri Virupaksha in the South. It is related in this Mahatmya that the saptha Rishis, Kasyapa, Vasishta, Bharadvaja etc., came down from the Himalayas to visit this temple which had four main and four subsidiary gates in the eight directions of the compass, and getting enspelled with the divinity of Virupaksha and Pampamba settled themselves down at Hampi alone. This text enumerates more than 25 purificatory ponds or Tirthas such as the Agastya, Soma, Nabimathi, Rsba, Mukti, Malaprahari, Kotilinga, Chakra, Gowrimukha, Brahmakunda etc., besides the sacred hills Risyasringa, Matunga, Mandavya, Jambavantha, Malyavantha etc., situate around and in the immediate vicinity of the Pampapathi Shrine, setting out their diverse spiritual efficacies. The following statement concisely gives the Gate-keepers and the protective deities in the various directions :

<i>Direction.</i>	<i>Presiding Deity.</i>	<i>Main Tirtham.</i>
East,	Kinnaresvara at a yojanam,	Brahmakunda.
West,	Somagiri or Somanatha,	Soma Tirtha.
North,	Manibhadreswara Yaksha,	do.
South,	Chanda Bhairava,	Brahmakunda.
Agneya (S.E.)	Bhairava, Draupathi and Manikundala.	
Nyruthi (S.W.)	Sankareswara, Kali, Shanmukha,	
Vayavya (N.W.)	Kapali Bhairava, Mahakali.	
Isanya (N.E.)	Samhara Bhairava and Maha Bhairavi.	

The Kinnareswara from the eastern postern serves the Lord all night and day with music sung to the accompaniment of Vina and Venu (Flute) as the Lord Himself has directed him to do:

“Vina venu viseshaischa hrustasthistatasevaya,
Susarirah susvarodarah madbhavam paramapyatha.”

In this connection we cannot fail to notice the remarkable praise of the Lord by the Kinnara in the technical terms of the musical science such as arohana, avarohana, grama,

nyasa, murchana etc. relating them all to highest planes of existence a devotee passes through-before an identification with Him finally. An elucidation of this by a savant would surely establish the necessity of music in all endeavours at spiritual upliftment. None of these Angelic guards seem to be now in evidence at the proper places, excepting perhaps some of them loosely assembled and placed against the walls of the inmost shrine. I have to draw the attention of the authorities especially to two such images on the inside of the approach of the innermost courtyard, which for all their enigmatic complexion may relate to either Chanda Bhairava or Kapali Bhairava or Sambara Bhairava or Manibhadreswara Yaksha. Besides, the presiding deity of the Uddana Virabhadraswami Temple about 5 furlongs due south of Pampapathiswara, if closeley examined may give clues for the solution of this puranic topography.

The Bhuvaneswari Shrine.

The Bhuvaneswari Shrine adjoining to the left the Pampapathi's is also ancient though not so much as the former. The idol is beautifully shaped, carved and polished in strict conformity with the rules of our Silpa Sastras. But the stone lattice-work seems to contain Yogasanas at every intersection executed with a naivete and grace characterising its like at the entrance of the Hoysaleswara Temple at Halobid. It might have been a later addition by some one of the Hoysala Kings on their visits to Pampakshetra. There is not much of remarkable sculptural work done on the walls or on the pillars anywhere in the premises of the Pampapathi Temple. The whole groundplan and the superstructure but for the inverted lotus-petal eaves are touchingly simple and Dravidian. There are, however, attempts made to sculpture mythological subjects on the pillars belonging to both the Mantapams in the outer courtyard which is crossed by a channel of water from the river the bed of which is lower than that of the channel.

Pompapathi Temple seems to have undergone many a renovation and addition structurally. Tirumalaraya seems to have built the Eastern Gopuram along with the Temple of Sri Ranganathaswami on the Malyavantha Hill, while Sri Krishnadevaraya the Western gopuram.

The Vittalaswami Temple.

Despite the fact that one's breath is taken away in simple wonder at the work done on the four pillars of the Hazara Ramaswami Temple, which was also built by Sri Krishnadeva Raya after 1513 A.D., as a family shrine, one cannot but regard the Vittalaswami Temple and its well sculptured premises as the artistic gems of the Vijayanagar Empire. Scholars are divided as to whether the temple existed prior to Sri Krishnadeva Raya, whether it was he or his successor Ramaraya who built it and consecrated it, and whether any of the two brought the Vittal Image from Pandharapur and installed it amidst all its precious grace and wealth of line and rhythm befitting the beauty of the God. A report of the Archeological Department states, that the temple "was begun by Krishnadevaraya, and the work was carried on by his queens and successors Achyuta and Sadasiva. However, the temple was apparently never finished or consecrated. In all probability the work was stopped by the destruction of the city in 1565. "—Annual Report 1922 — 23. The Report also refers to the tradition later on, to the effect that God Vithal of Pandharapura having come to look at the temple refused to move out permanently from Pandharapur saying that the structure at Hampi was far too grand for him and that he preferred his own humbler home. Thus the Government regards the temple was never completed and an image of Vittal installed therein. As against this we have the unimpeached testimony of Vadiraja Tirtha, a contemporary of Sri Krishnadeva Raya, in the lines,

“Chauryanmatru nibadha charucharanah
papaudhachauryathbudhaih,
Baddhastam patipundarikamunina jareti sambodhitah,

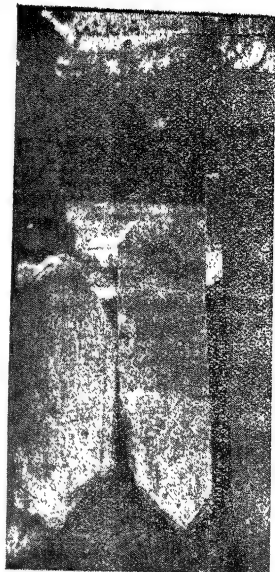
Tungatiragatosi vittalabhiyerva nyakrutirvanchitam,
Vetthrunam yadimenadasyati tada vatsam sthithi
katthyate.”

in the opposite direction. This text in Tirtha Prabhandha is usually assigned to saka 1493 (1571 — 72 A. D.). The exact date of the composition of this work is not finally settled. In the Eighth All India Oriental Conference held at Mysore, Dr. C. Narayana Rao claimed to have discovered the Vittala image which had been worshipped in the temple. This may mean either of these two things : (a) that the main shrine with the duly consecrated and worshipped image of Vittala existed prior to Sri Krishnadevaraya's reign, and that if any structures were built in those premises by Sri Krishnadevaraya they were additions merely of a more decorative and artistic kind; or, (b) that there was an installation of Vittala by Sri Krishnadeva Raya himself or his successors. Both these inferences give a lie direct to the finding of the Archeological Department, and substantiate the statement of Vadiraja. Dr. Narayana Rao in his article “An identification of the idol of Vittala in the Vittala Temple at Hampi” has conclusively proved these conclusions. A look at the image which is said to be with him if scrutinized carefully may give a clue. However, the complexion of Art does in no way depend on a historic decision of this sort. For, the glory of Vijayanagar remains unaffected all the same.

There are three structures in the main that vie with one another for supremacy in our minds. The first is the main Vittalaswami Temple on a polygonal plinth and gorgeous compound pillars, multicolumned, delicately hewn and chased out of huge monoliths, with animal, bird, and floral designs, along with the horizontal shafts of its basement similarly chased, which remind one of the Hoysala art traditions. But the running lotus-petal eaves crowning the cornice with a finely sculptured band on swan asport with lotuses and their stalks, and kalpalatas in various rhythmic attitudes and other forms of aquatic



Ugra Narasimha Statue.
ఉగ్రనరసింహ శిలావిగ్రహము.



Krishnadeva Raya's Amaravati St.
Inscr. 2 Satavahana marble Inscr

శ్రీకృష్ణదేవరాయల విజయములు దెల్పు అమరా
శిలాశాసనము-2 ఆంధ్రుల శిలాశాసనములు.



శ్రీ కృష్ణదేవరాయల ఆది నాగేశ్వరీ విగ్రహము.



Sivalinga under a Nagā hood

నాగభూషణుడు,



Sri Hampi Virupaksha.

శ్రీ హంపి విరూపాక్షస్వామి.



Sri Tribhuvaneswari.

శ్రీ త్రిభువనేశ్వరి.

birds of the type of flamingos and storks distributed here and there on either side of the exquisitely sculptured yogasanas, together with small towers distributed at prominent points on the top, all mark off a distinct style. There are nicely executed elephants lining the sides of every pair of the flight of steps. Secondly, the Kalyana Mantapa where to such similarly executed colonades be in, different designs are added, for instance, the Vijayanagar cavalry astride their prancing Yalis. Thirdly, the Dancing Saloon, an adjunct to the first, with various poses of Bharata Natya, Rati-Sastra, and stories of Manmatha etc. on its panels roughly corresponding to the description of the Dancing Saloon by Paes alluded to already. There is the Stone-car in the form of Ratha, a real wonder to westerners with a panelling full of delicately executed figures of gods. This is not so exquisite as the ornateness of the spokes and the wheels of the Sun's Chariot — the black Pagoda is itself so designed — at Konarka. It is quite probable that the idea of this car might have been taken from its northern specimen when Sri Krishnadeva Raya went on his conquests to Gajapathi kingdoms in the north. In all the designing and sculpturing and disposal of space we do not find the sickening lavishment of crowded detail, anywhere over the structures at Hampi as we find, for instance, at Somanathapur, Halebid and Belur. The hand of the Vijayanagar Śthapathi, possessed that inimitable restraint which while being free knew exactly where it should withhold. The contents of the third hall are entirely different in design and detail. The details there are subordinated to the propriety of such a saloon. The bas-reliefs on its panels are masterly with a rhythm and a movement scarcely obtainable on the hard medium the sculptors had to deal with. The male types are sturdy while the feminine are graceful with forms and contours quite indigenous. They refer to distinct types of Rayalaseema, although we find among the soldiery, hunters, and cavalry executed along the basement of both the Audience Hall and the Maharnavami Dibba types of other nationalities and provencals. The

style of the Vijayanagar artists is more akin to the style that is at Elephanta, although on account of propinquity and intimate association with the Hoysalas and their traditions, they had every incentive and temptation to copy them.

As Longhurst observes, "In spite of the fact that the roof over the magnificent hall (Vittalaswami Temple) was never completed and that many of its beautiful pillars have been grievously damaged by the destroyers of the city, it is still the finest building of its kind in South India, and to quote Fergusson, "shows the extreme limits in florid magnificence to which the style advanced." "

The Hazara Ramaswami Temple.

This Temple is also a work of Sri Krishnadeva Raya after he returned victorious in or about 1513 A. D. from the North. It does not possess any exuberant sculptural detail. It has a polygonal plinth though not so much cornered as the usual Hoysala type. It is comparatively small and neat for the daily worship of the Royal family for which it had been meant. Even here we could see the Vijayanagar restraint which provided ample background in each of its panels for the figures sculptured to shine out. The pillars are all uniform square monoliths with faces divided into three panels each with intricate chasing of floral designs between them. There are in all 48 panels on all the four pillars sculptured predominantly with subjects of Vishnavite cult, such as images of Vishnu and his manifestations, and it is not difficult to see from them what predilection Sri Krishnadeva Raya had for Vaishnavism. Except in 'Hanuman and Jambavant' of pillar 1, 'Venugopala' of pillar 2, 'Hanuman with garland in his hands' on pillar 3, and 'Rama plumbimg Sagara' of pillar 4, there is very little expression or remarkable execution although the medium was soft and pliant and better work could have been done. People are taken away with the monkey design at the top of one of the corners of the middle square of the central ceiling, where two heads

executed are made to serve as four heads to four bodies cleverly designed around and holding a lotus. Mere cleverness is no art. It is but chicanery if devoid of lofty sentiment. The walls of the main Temple on the outside are neatly panelled with the images of the Hindu Pantheon gracefully executed with lively line and form. It has a prototype in the Ramaswami Temple at Penukonda alleged to have been built by Ranga Raya.

The Krishnaswami Temple.

In commemoration of his victory over the Gajapathi kings under Vira Rudra Gajapathi and Pratapa Rudra Gajapathi which gave Sri Krishnadeva Raya two queens Chinamby and Tirumalamba he brought a Krishna idol from the north and installed it in the huge Temple by that name, which he built on a lavish scale after 1513 A. D. This Temple is just half a mile due south of the main Pampapathi Shrine. Its idol is now an archaeological curio of the Madras Museum. The structures of the Temple are all Dravidian in style, raised over rectangular bases. The Kalyana Mantapa is a replica of that of the Vittalaswami Temple, and contains on its multi-columned pillars Yali designs, floral carvings and mythological subjects all executed with the same gusto and naivete as at the Vittalaswami Temple though not so profusely or delicately.

The Achyuta Raya Temple.

The next temple of importance is that of Achyuta Raya standing against a picturesque background of the Matunga Hill, and with an approach through the famous Soolai-Bazaar consisting of hundreds of open and pillared mantapas on either side. This temple seems to have been finished about 1539 A. D. It is a close imitation of Sri Krishnaswami Temple built by his brother. The artistic traditions that sculptured the Yali and other compound pillars are the very same. Here is again the sparing hand of the Vijayanagar artist who stressed only the essentials. The Soolai Bazaar bears testimony to the importance of the Dancing Girl class in the polity of the Vijayanagar Empire.

The Kodanda Ramaswami Temple.

It is on the rocky brow of Chakra Tirtha. Its date has not been determined. It can boast of beautiful images Kodanda Rama, Lakshmana and Sitha together with their devotee the unfailing Hanuman ever at their feet, in an assemblage on a heroic scale. They are of soft black stone exquisitely executed and polished in strict conformity with our art canons. For what may be guessed, it might have been a Hoysala contribution.

The Prasanna Virupaksha Temple.

This is an underground edifice which has been recently dug out. It possesses a moat all round. It is more a piece of engineering skill rather than an artistic conception. It does not boast of any nice sculptural work beyond the few traditional Dvarapalakas and capitals of inverted lotus. Its date also needs determination.

The Ranganatha Temple.

This is on the Malyavantha Hill, built by Tirumala Raya. It deserves a mention for its beautiful location which looks on a panorama of greenery all round and a secluded road⁴ ribboning up to Talawar Ghata. Here again we have the Yali Patterns repeated on pillars. Its Kalyana Mantapa, however, has on its panels quaint fishes, reptiles, and sea-monsters. According to Ramayana Sri Ramachandra seems to have camped on this hill awaiting Hanuman's news of his beloved from Lanka.

The Throne-Platform or Maharnavami Dibba.

As a historian observes, there is always a historical purpose behind every floral flourish and animal prance carved in the friezes along the plinths of both the temples and the Throne-Platform. The latter does not possess either uniformity of subject-matter or polished sculpturing in any line of frieze. But there is a greater variety, however, of poses in men, animals, birds, hunting scenes, dancers, musicians etc., portrayed in rather a lavish scale along these walls than to be found either at Halebid,

Belur, or Somanathapur. Taking for example the southern side of the Platform. we find,

Temples, porches, suns, moons, hamsas, on either side of porches, ...	1st line
Floral ornaments, elephants in different atti- tudes, grasses with birds pecking at them, and dancing scenes, ...	2nd line
Elephants in different poses, hunting scenes, stags in different attitudes, hamsas, in different poses, suns and moons with cha- koras and chatakas over them, ...	3rd line
Elephants, horses, monkeys all in different poses, hunters stringing bows, camels, birds of different kinds and toilet scenes, ...	4th ,,
Hunting scenes, birds, trees, stags fleeing from hunters and facing them too, and domestic scenes of women pounding grain, ...	5th ,,
Elephants and lions hunting them, ...	6th ,,
Riders on horses, camels, dancing scenes with drums etc. ...	7th ,,
Dogs, hunting scenes on horses, foot soldiers leading, horses, foreigners, and soldiers with muskets etc. ...	8th ,,
Trees, hunting scenes of bear and bear and deer fleeing, ...	9th ,,

On the steps leading to the Platform.

Feeding of elephants. ...	1st line
Kalpalatas, ...	2nd ,,
Dance poses of Bharata Natya, ...	3rd ,,
Country-dance or Kolata scenes, ...	4th ,,
Processions of musicians with accompaniments, ...	5th ,,
Designs of Hamsas interlocked with creepers, ...	6th ,,

All these register the social life of the times. There is grace and rhythm in the lines although there is no elaboration or detail. The hands that worked at these are in no way inferior to the Chalukyan or the Hoysala that produced the filigree examples at Halebid, or Belur, Arsikere

or Somanathapur or Sringeri. Paes calls this "The house of Victory" which is said to have been executed during Sri Krisnnadeva Raya's time soon after 1514 A.D. on his victorious return from the north.

The Pattabhirama Temple at Kamalapuram.

The present artistic ruins of Hampi start from Kamalapuram about 4 miles from the main Pampapathi Shrine. The Pattabhirama Temple at Kamalapuram was constructed by Achyuta Raya. It is conspicuous for the stately hall of Yali colonades leading up to the holy of holies. There is not much chasing or sculpturing done delicately anywhere.

Miscellaneous.

There is not much art in the other structures or monoliths among the ruins at Hampi, although mention has to be made of the 'Lotus Mahal' which is said to have been used for audience, the Elephant Stables with spherical domes thereon reminding us of Moslem style of architecture, the Stone Trough $41\frac{1}{2}' \times 3' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'$, cut out of a single stone, the long stone pipe lines, the Ranis Bath, and the Hampi Bazaar, all of which bespeak themselves of the high type of civilization to which the Empire had attained.

The Ananthasayanam Temple near Hospet.

Hospet, together with its extension Nagalapuram built by Sri Krishnadeva Raya in memory of his beloved Nagalambike, have been referred to already as forming one of the boundary lines of the Vijayanagar City. The Ananthasayanam Temple which is at the approach to Nagalapuram from Hampi has been built in Aryavartha style. It has beautiful images setting out Rati-Sastra most gracefully, and enshrined in the porches lining up the first tier of its pellet-like dome. It is said it was meant to house a black idol of God Ananthasayana. It could not be installed, as by that time the Empire suffered a convulsion at the battle of Rakshasa Tangadi in 1565 A.D. The image which seems to have been

on its way had to be abandoned at Holalu, having become inauspicious. It is about 10 feet long couchant on an exquisitely executed Adishesha. The Temple is said to have been constructed by Rama Raya. But according to Sewell who relies on Paes' account, it seems to have been constructed by Sri Krishnadeva Raya himself who had directed it to be built when he was on the way back to Hampi from the reception he gave to the Portugese Christavas de Figueiredo at Hospet. If this were true it is likely the image was destroyed during the general sack of Nagalapuram and its neighbour-hood in revenge for the sacking of Bijapur by Sri Krishnadeva Raya earlier. The earlier account that Rama Raya built it but it could not be consecrated, seems to be more likely if we consider the comparatively sounder state and the freshness of its edifice which is but small. There is no reason why only the image of Ananthasayana should have been destroyed and this stucture left intact.

Further, one fails not to notice the complexion of the Moslem architecture on some of the structures raised during the Vijayanagar reign. This might be due to the intimacy that existed between some of the Vijayanagar sovereigns and the Moslem rulers of the neighbourhood, the kings of Bijapur and Bhamini. A daughter of Deva Raya I was married to the Sultan Feroz Shah, and Rama Raya had a moslem slave for his unlawful wife. The examples are, the Lotus Mahal, etc. already referred to.

Mr. R. N. Saletore has accurately described the shape, the pattern, and the sculpture of the Vijayanagar pillars.

"Square, rather than the round pillars, were common during this period, and the latter type ceased to be used as a main pillar; but only served as a decorative philaster of the 'kumbhapanjaram'. This decoration could be seen in the Hazara Ramaswami Temple at Vijaya Nagara. The pedestal of this philaster is square, which is only an adaptation of the 'kumbham'; above it arose the 'kumbham' which is only an adaptation of the 'kumbham' of the pillar itself, and it is likewise carved all round with a

blank strip running above it. The rest of this philaster had no other peculiarities but it may be remarked that it was carved apparently for its symbolic depth of associations, as it has been called "The Vase of Plenty".

"The square pillar was also in vogue at this time. The pedestal or asvapada was fully ornamented as in the Hazara Ramaswami Temple. The square is now seen in a double form, and in the Kalyana Mantapa of the Vittalaswami Temple, the double pillar was separated and to the extra pillars were attached, obviously for support if not for decoration, Caryatides, in the shape of Gajasimhas or rather the soldiers seated on horses which are not very realistic. These can also be seen in the Kalyana Mantapa of Vaikunta Perumal Temple at Vellore. It may here be observed that in the Vittalswami Temple, the extra pillar is not detached from the main pillar, but in the Krishna as well as in the corridor of the Vittalaswami shrines the pillars are separate.

"Other characteristic of this double pillar may also be noticed, for example, in the pillars on entering the Vittalaswami Temple, the small double pillars have lions for their pedestals. Moreover, the images of the King and the three queens were sometimes carved as in the main pillar of the Kalyana Mantapa of the Vaikunta Perumal Temple at Vellore built by Krishnadeva Raya. This square pillar was also engrafted on Dipamalis or lamp-pillars, for instance in the Narayana Temple at Bhatkal where the elegance of the whole work is striking.

"The square pillar was further embellished. It was divided into chadurams or squares on which either mythological, religious or social subjects were carved. From the lower four ends of the square issued cup-like edges called Nagabhandams. On the top of this pillar was placed a closed lotus, the 'munai' from which during this period, as the lotus blossomed, the bud or the 'pumanai' would issue forth in glorious exuberance. During this age this 'pumanai' was generally small and not protruding as it came to be in Achyuta Raya's days.

"Over the pillars came the roof. This was elongated and gorgeously decorated and stamped many a time with the unforgettable 'kirthimukha' seen in the asvapada of pillars as well as on the walls of temples. Over this roof was carved series of 'kudus' or niches enshrining images of deities which are quite visible in the Vittalswami Temple, clearly showing that the whole temple must have been complete before 1530 A. D. The corners of these roofs, as in the case of this shrine, had rings to dangle chains enshrining lamps.'

This passage of Mr. Saletore further confirms the theory that the Vitalaswami Temple was completed during the time of Sri Krishnadeva Raya, and refutes the finding of the Archeological Report referred to already.

There are however some beautiful temples with fine sculpture and artistic designs scattered over the other parts of the Bellary District. Gopala Krishna Image at Holalakeri four miles from Ujjain greatly resembles the Venugopala Krishna Image carved on pillar 2 mentioned already.

To sum up: the distinctness of the Vijayanagar Art and especially of its Temple Architecture lies in its openness of its forms to plenteous ventilation, the choice and the variety and the historicity of the subject-matter utilized for its ornamentation, the assemblage of its various decorative pieces into symbolic forms in a departure, as it were, from the old traditional types and into a more normal and natural shapes with an eye on realism, and above all in the sublime restraint in the use of decorative motifs, that was rather fastidious in the execution of only the essentials. The Vijayanagar decorative instinct strictly conformed to our art canons which stressed that ornamentation by itself had no place in any artistic conception unless it set out the attributes of the subject. Herein lay the tribute paid by the Vijayanagar artist to "Purva Paddhati". In other words, decoration was not justified if it was a mere superimposition. Hence the Vijayanagar ornateness is not an airing of dead conventions in an artificial and ritualistic mood, as we may find

in the case of the Hoysala art surviving in the examples cited already.

V. Literatures.

Our cultural heritage with respect to this aspect of Art is mainly of three languages; namely, Samskrit, Telugu and Kannada. The writers therein were Jain and Hindu. Among the Hindus, were the Vaishnavites and the Saivites inclusive of the Veerasaivas. Among the theistic we have three main persuasions; the Advaitic, the Dvaitic and the Visishtadvaitic. The Advaitins are usually Saivite, while the Dvaitins and the Visishtadvaitins are usually the Vaishnavites composed of the followers of Sri Madhwacharya and Sri Ramanuja. The Bhakti cult of the Veerasaivas seems to have been developed in its initial stages more as a successful weapon for the propagation of their cult; and in this they were not a little inspired by the Puranas of the 63 Saivite Saints by the Tamil Nayanars. With all its precision, this demarcation is not exact. For, the bhakti cult in any religion is based differently. It has its springs in a personal attachment to the Godhead, through relationships mostly mundane like the ones between father and son, mother and children, husband and wife, lover and the beloved, master and servant, and friends. In the Vijayanagar empire, the Jains and the Madhvaishnavites and Lingayets composed mostly in Samskrit and Kannada, the advaitins in Samskrit and Telugu, while the Visishtadvaitins in Samskrit and Tamil.

A little of the history of the Veerasaivas is quite necessary for the understanding of the literature produced by them. Like the early protagonists of every religion these Lingayats sought to gather the populace in their fold and to that end they democratised the classical Kannada and made available to the unsophisticated understanding of the masses the greatest truths of our spiritual texts like the Upanishads. The Vachanas of Allama Prabhu, Chenna Basaveswara, Devara Dasimayya are great instances in point. The Veerasaiva sect is the

fruit of a rebellion from the Brahmin-fold. It was promulgated during the reign of the Karnataka king Bijjala (1156—67 A. D.) by Basaveswara. It is essentially an offshoot of Saivism, influenced greatly by the Tamil Nayanars. The Vijayanagar king Praudha Deva Raya 1419—46, patronized the Lingayet gurus, and is said to have even married his daughter to Kerasta Veeranna.

Sri Vaishnavism of Ramanuja attained its highest glory during the days of Vedamta Desika alias Venkatanatha (1269—1371) with a remarkable toleration for other cults, which is evidenced by his own life and conduct. It is said he carried the Devi of Madura (Minakshi) to Malabar for safe custody on the sacking of Madura by Malik-Kafur.

Dvaitism, as propounded by Madhwa Charya, claimed brilliant disciples like Narahari Tirtha, Sri Pada Acharya, the guru of Saluva Narasimha, Vyasaraya Acharya, the guru of the other Saluva Kings and Tuluvas inclusive of Sri Krishnadeva Raya, Jaya Tirtha, Akshobhya, Vijayendra, Vadiraja Swami etc, all of whom existed during the height of the Vijayanagar Empire.

The Advaitism and Shaivism had no less brilliant representatives in the Kriyasaktis, and their successors over the Sringeri Mutt, who claimed spiritual descent from Sri Sankara, and who were very great scholars and elucidators of the highest abstract concepts of Indian philosophies. Till Virupaksha came to the Vijayanagar throne the Vijayanagar Kings were all saivite. He seems to have got converted (1467—1478) into Sri Vaishnavafold and became a disciple of Etture Narasimha Charya. After him Saluva Narasimha, his general who overthrew him embraced the Madhwa cult, and seems to have honoured Sri Padā Charya alias Lakshmi Narayana Yogi by seating him, on his throne. The rest of the Vijayanagar Kings from Narasa Naika (Father of Vira Narasimha, Krishna-deva Raya, and Achyuta Raya) upto the accession of the puppet Sadasiva Raya in 1543 A. D. continued in the Madhwa persuasion under the spiritual guidance of Vyasa

rayā Charya, the disciple of Sri Pada. From the time of Sadasiva Raya and throughout the reign of the usurper Araveedu dynasty, i. e. from 1543—1660 A. D. for about a century and a quarter Sri Vaishnava Cult overran the court with the effect the royal superscription to grants changed from "Virupaksha" to "Rama" and "Venkatesa."

In spite of these rivalries and mutual recriminations now and then in the academical discussions of their various faiths, we do not find anything inimical or unhealthy in the social life among their sponsors. This tolerance and mutual adjustability cannot be better evidenced than by the Statement of Bukka I cited already, and in the patronage sought by Jaya Tirtha of Vidyanarya for the publication of his own dvaitic works. Barbosa and Paes are sure upon the good understanding existing among them all. This toleration is alone responsible for the great output of epochal works in every field of literature, both secular and spiritual.

(A) Kannada Literature.

The Kannada Literature of the Vijayanagar period, 1336—1565, like the Samskrit is very prolific and abundant. It embraces works on many topics like Philosophy, Sahitya in such forms as Puranas, Satakas, poetry, literary criticism etc., and Sciences like Medicine, Cookery, Mathematics etc. But one fails not to notice the great influence of the Jain and the Veerasaiva traditions that existed previously. The Jain movement which began with Nripa-tunga in the 9th Cent. making Literature a handmaid to religion culminated about the end of the 11th Cent. Thus the classical style reasserted itself over the Desi or the communal type which had all along gripped the masses with ties of common understanding. The rise of the Veerasaiva Lingayet tradition ushered in by Basaveswara (1120 A. D.) democratising the Kannada language into the popular forms of Vachanas or poetic prose, of folk-metres like the Tripadi, Samgatya, Ragale etc, and other song-types, and the innovation of the Shadpadi, are not a little responsible for the weakening of the Jain literature in the

language. Again in the philosophical outlook itself, there was a marked change. The Path of Vyrāgya or abnegation which had been stressed by Jaina Literature soon gave place to the cult of Bhakti or devotion propounded by the Saivite Saints of the Tamilnad, and the Vaishnavites. This Bhakti Cult of the Veerasaivas which had its springs in "Social equality, well-being, solidarity and self-sufficiency" and an intense love for a personal God, after the fall of Kalyan and the consequent scattering of its sponsors, changed its mysticism and sincerity to the mere mechanical ritual; and by the time we enter upon the beginnings of the Vijayanagar Empire, the Veerasaivas who had been forbidden the building of temples to even their chosen gods, began to build many for Virupaksha, Basava etc. in imitation of the Hindu traditions.

Philosophy.

There are no works of philosophy composed by brahmins in Kannada during this period. The few we have thereon are by the Jains and the Lingayets, purely sectarian and stressing the excellence of their own faiths in a really propagandic manner. Among the Jain we have Ayata Varma's (1400 A. D.) *Ratnakarandaka* dealing with their Tri Ratna Doctrine in the classical Champu style, and mainly inspired by the work in Sanskrit of the same name by Samanatha Bhadra (2nd Cen. A. D.), Chandra Kirthi's (1400 A. D.) *Paramagamasara* dealing with the transitoriness of earthly life, Kalyana Kirthi's (1448 A. D.) *Jnanachandrabhyudaya* dealing with wisdom, Vijayanna's (1448 A. D.) *Dvadasanupreksha* dealing with the Twelve Recollections, Nemanna's (1559 A. D.) dealing with the nature of knowledge and the means of acquiring it, and among Veerasaiva's we have the Vachanas of Tentada Siddalinga (1480 A. D.), Gummalur Siddalinga (1480 A. D.), Jakkana Acharya (1480 A. D.), Svatantra Siddalinga (1480 A. D.). These Vachanas are a few, stilted and artificial, and when compared with their like of Basaveswara, Chennabasaveswara, Allama Prabhu, Akka Mahadevi and Devara Dasimayya they really pale into

insignificance as all imitations do for their lack of freshness, poetic spontaneity and naturalism. But Chandra's *Chudāmani Sataka* (1430 A. D.) advocating detachment deserves a mention, however, for its good quality.

Sahitya.

There are but a few attempts in this line by the Jains again. But these amount to a simple rewriting of the spiritual histories of some of the Tirthankaras like Dharmanatha, Jivandhara, Neminatha etc. The works are Bahubali's (1252 A. D.) *Dharmanatha Purana*, Padmanabha's (1385 A. D.) *Padmanabha Purana*, Mangarasa III's (1508 A. D.) *Neminatha Purana*, Ratnakara Varni's (1557 A. D.) *Bharatesa Vaibhava* etc, of which the last is the most brilliant.

The Veerasaiva Puranas, however, are copious; but are mainly inspired by the Tamil Versions of the lives of the 63 Saiva Saints. There is a classification of them under the Purātana or the old, the Nūtana-Purātana or the mediaeval, and the Nutana or the new, and the Anthologies of the above three kinds. This classification is based upon the antiquity of their subject-matter. Raghavanka's (1165 A. D.) *Harischandra Kavya*, *Somanatha Charitra* and *Siddarama Purana* supplied the form and technique necessary for the purpose. Bommarasa's (1430 A. D.) *Sundara Purana* is the most luscious of them all although it had an ancestor already in a work of Hariharaswara (1165 A. D.), the author of *Pampa Sataka*, *Ragales*, *Giriya Kalyana* etc., besides. Among the writers of the Nutana-Puratana or the mediaeval type we come across two schools: the first of Bhimakavi (1369 A. D.) the descendent of Kere Padmarasa and the author of *Basava Purana*, which is after all a translation of the Telugu original by that name by the famous Palkurke Soma (1195 A. D.). The second school is of Lakkanna Dandesa (1428 A. D.) the author of *Siva Tattva Chintamani* which contains a version of Basaveswara's life. Gubbi Mallanarya (1370 A. D.) produced *Vira Saimrutha*,

Siva Bhaktara Purāṇa and *Bhava Chinta Ratna*, which last is a copy again of Pillai Nayanar's *Juana Sambhandi*. Kereya Padmarasa, Allama Prabhu and Palkurke Soma, who had grown into heroic heights already by this time had each a biography written by Padmananka (1385 A.D.) *Padmanabha Purana*, Chamarasa (1430 A.D.) *Prabhulinga Lile*, and Virakta Tontadarya (1560 A.D.) *Siddheswara Purana* respectively. *Prabhulinga Lile* is the most celebrated of them all. The story of Revana Siddheswara which also forms the subject matter of *Purana* seems to be on the borderline between the Puratana and the Nutana-Puratana. The orthodox aradhya claim a mythical antiquity for him, while the chelas of Basaveswara declare that he was but an older contemporary of their guru. But Chaturmukha Bommarasa's (1500 A.D.) *Revana Siddheswara Purana* continues the old traditional story of the mythical origin. In the third group, namely, the Nutana or the modern we have Nilakanta Sivacharya's (1485 A.D.) *Aradhya Charitre*, which is of great polemical interest, Channa Basavanka's (1550 A.D.) *Mahadevi Akka Purana*. The last is more voluminous than poetical befitting the most poetical subject, although it has been strung in different Desi or communal types of metre. The fourth classification, that of Anthologies, includes among others, Lakkana Dandesa's (1428 A.D.) *Siva Tatva Chintamani*, Mallanarya's (*Virasaivamrutha Purana*, and Kumara Chenna Basava's (1550 A.D.) *Stories of Basava Purana*, Aradhya Nanjunda's (1550 A.D.) *Stories of Basava Purana*, and *Abhinavavadi* Vidyananda's (1553 A.D.) *Kavya Sara*.

Among the Puranas by Brahmin writers and of the devotional type, Kumara Vyasa's or Gadigina Naranappa's (1430 A.D.) *Bharata*, commemorating the glory of Krishna in a manner next only to Pampa's (941 A.D.) *Bharata*. This was left incomplete; and so Sri Krishnadeva Raya deputed his court poet Timmanna to render the rest of the eight books into Canarese. His *Shanti Parva* etc. thus come into existence Sukumara Bharati's (1550 A.D.)

Bharata Kumara Valmiki's (1590 A. D.) *Torave Ramayana*, in unsuccessful imitation of Kumara Vyasa's *Bharata* which is a brilliant piece of literature, as good as the Samskrit original, and rich in vigorous style, dramatic situation, high imagination, and novel metaphors, and the rest namely, Narayana Kavi's (1450 A. D.) prose paraphrase of Bhagavatha and Sadananda Yogi's (1530 A. D.) verse paraphrase of *Bhagavatha*, are all mediocre, and adulterations merely of their Samskrit originals.

Satakas.

This class of Kannada poetry if properly handled can easily become ecstatic. Examples have not been wanting that way. Harihareswara's *Pampapathi Sataka* is really a song of the soul aspiring after the Supersoul in terms most beatific and eternal. In the Vijayanagar period the Sataka literature was bounteous. Among the Jain and the Veersaivas we have Gummatarya's (1550 A. D.) *Ardhendu Mowli Sataka*, Madhura's (1385 A. D.) *Gummateswara Sataka*, Chandra's (1430 A. D.) *Chudamani Sataka*, Chenna Mallikarjuna's (1560 A. D.) *Sataka*, Virabhadra Raja's (1538 A. D.) five *Satakas* of rather unequal quality, Ratnakara's (1557 A. D.) *Triloka Sataka* and *Aparajita Sataka*, and Sringeri Kavi's (1660 A. D.) *Ratnakaradeswara Sataka*, which are of high order.

Songs.

Except perhaps the Sangtya and Ragale metres which could be set to music, the Jain and the Veerasaiva literatures cannot really boast of such melodious songs as those of the Vaishnava Dasas. And even these in the said metres are a few again like Basaveswara's and Nijaguna Yogi's. But the songs of the Vaishnava Dasas like Sri Padacharya's, Vyasaraya's, Purandhara Dasa's, Vadiraja's, and Kanaka Dasa's (Kirthanagalu), are simply melodious outpourings of the human heart in its flight to hug the Divine, sometimes wavering like the steps of the uneducated virgin, sometimes standfast like the wife who has tasted the bliss of union, and sometimes quite abandoned

in a consecration that stipulates for no return. Kanaka's are the most intellectual of them all, often berthed as they are in the highest abstract truths of the Upanishads. But Purandhra's are by far simpler and more varied in emotion. They comprehend the experiences of the Abhisarika types, touched, however, with the glow of his great sincerity and unction, and of an intimate personal relation he contracted with the Impersonal in the effort to attach Him unto Himself. This mystical tinge is lacking in the songs of the Jains and the Veerasaivas which are comparatively crude and bear an impress as it were of the motives of the sectarian propaganda behind them.

Stories.

The two chief characteristics of the Kannada short stories of the Vijayanagara period are their religious tendency and erotic complexion. Their contents are either Puranic again, or lascivious in the name of romance. They are mainly narrative with none of the complications of dissection of either human emotions or life. Nagaraja's (1331 A.D.) *Punyasrava* is a collection of 52 tales of Puranic glory, Prabhuga's (1500 A.D.) *Chudanastana* and *Vybhoga Rājastāna*, Sadananda Yogi's (1354 A. D.) *Rāmanātha Vilāsa* which are all praises of Siva at Kailasa belong to the first type, while Devaraya's (1410 A.D.) *Sobhagina Sone*, a sheaf of erotic romantic tales highly influenced by *Amaruka*, and Muruge Desikendra's (1560 A.D.) *Rājendra Vijaya*, exemplify the latter.

Sciences.

In the field of science we have works of medicine, mathematics, poetics of natural phenomena, grammar, and lexicons. The medical works are Mangarasa's (1360 A.D.) *Khagendramani Darpana* dealing with the various poisons and their antidotes, Abhinava Chandra's (1400 A.D.) *Asva Vaidya*, Bacharasa's (1500 A.D.) *Asva Vaidya*, Sridhara Deva's (1500 A. D.) *Vydyāmrutha*, Saluva's (1550 A. D.) *Vaidya Sāmgatya* etc. Rajaditya's (Verses) *Arithmetic Algebra* and *Mensuration*, a really Hoysala product of

Ballala's court at Dorasamudra inspired by the text of Bhaskara preexisting need a mention. The works on Rhetoric and poetics are mostly translations of the Samskrit works thereon. Besides they are a few when compared to the works in Samskrit contributed during the period. The Kannada contributions are, Madhava's (1500 A. D.) *Mādhavālamkāra*, a translation of Dandin's *Kāvya-darsa*, Iswara Kavi's (1510 A.D.) *Kavi Jihva Bandhana* dealing mostly with presody, Salva's (1550 A.D.) *Rasa Ratnakara* and *Sārada Vilāsa* which expound the theories of Rasa and Dhvani in matters, Tipparasa's (16th Cen) *Nava-rasāṅkāra* treating mostly the Rasa theory and his *Kavikānthāra*, metrical reportery of synonyms (1610 A. D.), Ratta Kavi's (1330 A.D.) *Ratta Mata* or *Ratta Sutra* is a treatise on natural phenomena. But the works contributed on grammar and lexicons are not a few *Karnāṭaka Śabda Sāra* (1350 A.D.) a lexicon of 1416 words, Abhinava Mangarasa's (1398 A. D.) *Abhinava Nighantu* based on Kesiraja's (1260 A.D.) *Vastu Kosa* or *Bhandāra* or *Śabdamani Darpana*, Bommara's (1450 A.D.) *Chaturāsya Nighantu*, a treatise of synonyms in 130 stanzas, Saiva Linga's (1460 A.D.) *Kabbiga Kaipidi*, a dictionary in about 99 verses of synonyms, Totadarya's (1480 A. D.) *Karnāṭaka Śabdamanjari*, a lexicon, and *Karnāṭaka Sanjivini* (16th Cen.), a glossary. The most comprehensive and the best of these lexicons seems to be Totadarya's *Karnāṭaka Śabdamanjari*.

B. Telugu Literature.

The Vijayanagar Empire was purely Karnatic, deriving as it did its springs from the extinct Kadambas and the Hoyasalas who ruled over the Kannada countries like Mysore, and North and South Canara. Besides, the Jains, the Lingayets and the Vaishnavites (the Sri Vaishnavas of the Mysore territory as well as the Madhwas) were Kannadigas who were very prolific and had produced Kannada Literature in great abundance, and in many shapes and forms, and democratized the classic Kannada to the actual requirements and the mentality of the

commoner. For instance, the Vachanas of Basaveswara, Allama Prabhu, Akka Mahadevi, Devara Dasimayya and Ambigara Chowdayya had held the masses in a spell. Telugu Literature, unfortunately, did not possess the simplification of the classical style therein till probably about five decades ago. It did not flourish during the period of the Sangama dynasty (1336—1478) although in the solitary instances of the works of Nachana Soma Sarvagna (author of Uttara Vamsam) in the reign of Bukka I, of Jakkanna (author of Vikramarka Charitramu) in the reign of Devaraya (1419—1446), of Srinatha, the vanquisher of the poet-laureate Dindima and the author of Sringara Naishadamu, Veedhi Natakamu, Kasi Khandamu etc., of Pothanna his brother-in-law (the author of Bhagavatham), of Arunagirinatha (author of Saluvabhyudayamu) and of Pinna Viranna (author of Jaimini Bharatamu and Sringara Sakunthalamu) during the reign of the usurper Saluva Narasimha (1478-93), Telugu was certainly coming into its own. It is not therefore surprizing that even during the most palmy days of Sri Krishnadeva Raya there was really so prodigious out-put in Telugu Literature. Besides most of the above writers were great Sanskrit scholars themselves, and its spell over them had not completely died out. That explains the reason why they harked back to the classic themes enshrined already in the Samskrit literature for inspiration and produced the above works in a different garb, which is at best a brilliant translation. Or, in other words, the age of translation had not completely run out even during Sri Krishnadeva Raya's reign. Even the best of the works like Manucharitra, Amuktamalyada, Prabodhachandrodayamu, Prabhavathi Pradhyumnamu, Panduranga Mahatmyamu and Vasucharitramu, are still classical with feet implanted in Samskrit literature. But in the process of narrating the classical subject-matter in Telugu their authors have been original in the sense they have endowed it with a light and a glory indigenous to their own genius of the Telugu language. They are attempts to write the

history of the times in verse, for instance, (a) Sri Krishnadeva Raya's Amuktamalyada, besides being a bit of Vaishnavite devotion the romantic love of Amukta for Sri Ranganatha of Sri Rangan, it contains pictures of Sri Vaishnava life and manners in the South, together with the Emperor's political philosophy broad-based on his own commercial ethics; (b) Ayyalaraju Ramabhadra Kavi's Ramabhyudayamu and Ramaraja Bhushana's Narasabhapaliyamu set out the life and times of Ramaraya and his father.

For the first time in the history of Telugu literature the Prabandha style, a new form alchemised of 'Religion and Romance, Imitation and Imagination, Narration and Description, Ethics and Aesthetics', was ushered into it by the publication of Allasani Peddanna's Manucharitramu, Pingali Suranna's Kalapurnodayamu and Prabhavati Pradyumnamu, and Ramaraja Bhushana's Vasucharitramu. Other minor entrants, the Sataric Sketches and Pen-Portraits of provençal types in sensuous language evidenced by Srinatha's Veedhinatakamu, the Dramatic poetry and dialogues evidenced by Pingali Suranna's Kalapurnodayamu and Prabhavati Pradhymnamu, and Mahatyams evidenced by Dhurjati's Kalahastya Mahatmyamu and Tenali Ramakrishna's Panduranga Mahatmyamu, and systematized literary acrobaticism evidenced by Pingali Suranna's Raghava Pandaviyamu should also be recognised. Allasani Peddanna who towers over the court poets of Sri Krishnadeva Raya, and who is the most gifted and honoured of him, was really the innovator of the Prabandhamu, where religion wedded to romance transport themselves on wings of highest imagination into regions of pure aestheticism unestranged from highest philosophical thought. In the hands of both Peddanna and Suranna Telugu literature takes new shapes and forms. It gets metamorphosed into something akin to Keat's "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever. Pingala Suranna was certainly the more versatile of the two. He was a master both of poetry and of literary gymnastics. He was

a dramatic poet besides, with remarkable powers at characterization, dialogue, and situations like Bhasas. His Kalapurnodayamu which celebrated the love of Rambha for Kakuba is a counterpart of Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors, where sets two each of true and false lovers keep the readers spell-bound from start to finish with magnetic situations. Ramaraja Bhushana's Vasucharitramu is no less psychological, or erudite, or imaginative, than for instance Peddanna's. This work formed the original for many subsequent attempts that way of literary apes for a long time.

There was a considerable display of Yakshagana, popularly known as Tandana-Thanams in Telugu dealing with the heroic life and fortunes of Musalamma, Bala Nagamma etc. Since these rustic Harikatha Kalakshepams had not been reduced into writing but were simply transmitted from generation to generation from mouth to mouth, the names of their humble authors cannot easily be traced and determined. Veedhi Natakams or Country-plays dealing mostly of heroic subjects borrowed of the Ramayana, Bhagavatha, and Bharata with admirable dancing and dramatic pose in consonance with the canons of Bharata Natya Sastra are still alive though with a flicker as it were. They are our indigenous forms of the present much bruited Kathakalis. Kathas and Mohini Attama of the Malabar coast. Tholu Bommalatas or Shadow-plays (Marionettes) with a distinct individual complexion of their own portraying heroic subjects from the above three epics have not completely disappeared. They are still alive in some dim corners of the Andhra Districts where the present civilization and the security proceedings of our human laws have not extended their devastating hands. These indigenous forms of Folk Art which are full of life and rhythm need an emergent resuscitation now that we have come into our own.

C. Samskrit Literature.

The case with Samskrit Literature is entirely different, although the same conservatism which withheld the popu-

larisation of the language into a tongue easily understandable by the commonality also could be observed. Although every religion and every philosophical cult was allowed a free and an unharassed existence and duly patronised by the Vijayanagara kings to air their special glories, yet rivalries among them to secure ascendancy over the kings and the special mundane privileges appurtenant thereto are not quite absent. This necessitated a closer scrutiny of their tenets in the light of the preexisting literatures thereon with a sincerity which would solve doubts, if any, and impress itself first over the Kings and next on the world. It is this spirit of propaganda that is mainly responsible for the out-put of the great mass of philosophical literature of every persuasion unprecedented before with a gusto that indirectly neglected or excluded other forms. But, it must be said to the credit of the Vijayanagar kings at any rate before the Araveedus got in, that they were all idealistically tolerant of faiths other than their own and continued quite traditionists despite Sri Pada's and Tatha Charyas out to change their grooves. All Indian literatures have been inspired by religion. Politics have been no less too, even in our own day. So the Vijayanagar literatures which were no exceptions, were also deeply imbued with and inspired by religion. Most of the examples now surviving are really hieratic in essence. As rightly observed by Mr. S. Srikanta Sastri.

"The Vijayanagar epoch was as it were the last spiritual crisis involving the conflict between the tyranny of reason as expressed in dialectic demonstration, and the feeling against emotional liberation as expressed in the Bhakti literature ... In the history of Vijayanagar we see this process of a culture becoming a civilization." The Samskrit literature of this period is a good testimony.

Philosophy.

The range of Samskrit literature in the Vijayanagar Age was indeed very wide. It embraced all activities, spiritual and secular. Its world was variegated, including

as it did, under main heads, philosophy, ethics, polemics, literature and fine arts. Under philosophy, the Advaitic, the Dvaitic and the Visishtadvaitic doctrines were discussed with a clarity and a surprising sharpness unknown of before. In the beginning a synthesis was sought to be arrived at. But later on, as schools developed and rivalry to catch the King's ear to secure special privileges became acute, impervious walls of separation between one faith and another with the consequent acrimony were set up. In Sahitya, pure and simple, the mass of adjectival literature predominates, over the substantive items like the Dramas, Puranas, Kavyas, etc. In the earliest days of the Empire there was balance maintained between tradition and zest for innovation. Vidyaranya Madhava Charya, the author of the Vijayanagar Polity, as well as his learned brother Sayana Charya accepted their indebtedness to Sri Samkara, Hastamalaka Charya, Gomati, Bhatta Bhaskara and others even in their zeal to evolve a consistent system of Advaitic philosophy. Vidyaranya's Viveka Chudamani, Pancadasi, Jivanmukti Viveka, Vyavahara Madhaviya, Manusmrithi Vakya etc., and Sayana's monumental commentary on the Vedas, and the Satapata and Taittareya Brahmanas, his Dhatu Vritti, Alamkara Sudhanidhi, Purushartha Sudhanidhi etc., formed a basis as it were, to unravel the mysteries about God both personal and impersonal, and thereby establish, the intellectual, the karmic and the devotional approaches to and realise Him. Besides the Kriyasaktis of the Sringeri Mutt represented by Sri Vidyaranya and Sayana, there were in main more than a dozen schools of Advaitic persuasion, for instance those of Ananyanubhava, Kailashyananda, Krishnananda Saraswathi, Visveswara Saraswathi, Ahobala Pandita, Govinda Dikshita, Bhuminalla, Bhavji, Mahadevadhvarin, Ananda Saraswathi etc.

The Vaishnava Dvaita philosophy broadly known as Madhwaism did not have however so many schools. It had in the last quarter of the 13th century, Narayana Pandita (author of Samudra Vijaya, Anumadhwa Vijaya,

Mani Manjari, Dvaita Kalanala etc.), Narahari Tirtha (author of commentaries on Yamaka Bharata, Upanishads and the Sutra Bhasyas of Ananda Tirtha), Padmanabha Tirtha (author of Ananda Mala etc.), Madhva Tirtha (author of Commentaries on Rg. Yajur, and Sama Vedas). In the Vidyaranya epoch (1336—1386 A.D.) the Dvaita tradition was represented by Akshobhya Tirtha (author of Madhva Tatva Samgraha), Jaya Tirtha (author of about 23 works of which are Tatva Prakasika, Sudha, Nyaya Vivarana, Adhyamruta Tarangini), Vyasa Tirtha (author of Commentaries on Upanishads, Mayavada Khandana, Tattvodyota etc., and the royal Guru of the Tuluva dynasty), Raghuttama (author of Bhava Bodha), Sripada Charya (author of Vagvakra), Vadiraja (author of Guruvārtha Deepika, Isabhashya Tika, Gita Vyakhyana Vivarana etc.), Vijayendra (author of about 104 works some of which are Rag Prastara, Bhoda Vidya Vilasa etc., and the most prolific opponent of Appayya Dikshita), Vidya Tirtha (1619 A.D. author of Vakyardha Chandrika on Sudha), Raghavendra a contemporary of Yagna Narayana (Pandita) Diksita and author of a commentary on the four Vedas, and about 12 other works, of which the most important are his Parimala, and Isavasya Vritti.

The Visishtadvaitic philosophy was handed on by Sri Ramanuja in five Paramparas: Vedanta Desika (1269-1371 A.D.) and Sri Pillai Lokacharya, representing two such Paramparas, and also as the founder of two subsects, the Vadagalais and the Tangalais respectively, are probably the greatest among its sponsors. Vedanta Desika was not a little responsible for the confederation effected among the Hindu Kings of the South to stem the tide of the Mohemmadan hordes sweeping down from the north, and to form the great Vijayanagar Empire along with Sri Vidyaranya whose contemporary he was. Among the Sri Vaishnava scholars and Philosophers mention has to be made of Tatacharya, Mahacharya, Munda Peddi, and Appalacharya the alleged vanquisher of the Veerasaiva philosophers Jakkanna and Chamarasa, Erra Praggada

(author of *Harivamsam*, *Narasimha Puranam*, and the *Aranya Parva* of *Telugu Bharatamu*) under the patronage of the *Kondaveedu Palegar Ana Pota* (1350—62 A.D.)

Although Jainism continued full of vigour, yet it could not become the State religion of Vijayanagar at any time. Scholars and philosophers among them were not a few. Their contribution to Samskrit literature has not been generally so precious as that made to Kannada literature. The prominent among them are, *Nemichandra*, *Abhayachandra*, *Srutamuni Simha Nandin*, *Prabhendu*, *Sruta Kirthi* (1384 A. D.), *Ramachandra Maladhari* (author of *Gurupancha Smrithi*), *Subhachandra*, *Sreyamsa Bhattanatha* (1280 A. D.), *Bahubali Maladhari*, *Padma Nandi* (1303 A. D.), *Padmasena*, *Munibhadra* (1388 A. D.), *Dandaritha* (1350—1425) the author of *Nanartha Ratnamala* etc.

Among the *Veerasaiva* Philosophers, mention has to be made of the most outstanding figure of the proto-Vijayanagar period, namely of *Palkurke Somanatha Kavi* of the court of *Vira Pratapa Rudra II* and the author of *Somanatha Bhasya*, which is also known as *Basavarajiya*, *Rudra Bhasya*, *Panchaka*, etc. *Mayadeva Vibhu* alias *Maggeya Mayadeva* (author of *Anubhava Sutra*) and *Devanna Bhatta* (author of *Smrithi Chandrika* and a work on music titled *Sangita Muktavali*) belong to the period of the later *Sangama Dynasty* (1386—1486 A. D.). The *Veerasaiva* scholars' contribution to Samskrit is much less than that of the *Jains*. It may also be stated that the *Veerasaiva* Scholars like the *Jain* made a more substantial contribution to *Kannada literature*.

Sahitya.

In the field of *Sahitya* the output of epic examples partake the complexion of biography in verse high pitched to puranic key. There is not either the naturalism or faithfulness to truth for the simple spontaneity, nor again the ethical depth of the classical originals in Samskrit which they imitated. The various *Bhupaliyams* inspired not a little by the *Jain Tirthankara Puranas* are but

paens of praise, sometimes deserved but often undeserved, except perhaps in the singular instance of Gangadevi's *Kamparaja Vijayam*, which came out just on the eve of the founding of the Vijayanagar Empire Vamana Bhatta Bana's *Vasanta Rajiyam* or *Kumaragiri Vijayam*, Rajanatha's *Saluvabhyudayam*, Sonadri's *Ramabhyudayam* or *Virabhadra Vijayam*, Rajanatha Dindima's *Achyutarabhyudayam*, Kollarasa's *Mallikarjuna Vijayam* or *Madana Tilaka*, Tirumalamba's *Varadambika Parinayam*, which all sing the glories of the Vijayanagar Kings and their Satraps are instances that way. But Vidya Madhava's *Parvathi Rukminiyam*, Rajanatha Dindima's *Bhagavatha Champu*, Sri Krishnadeva Raya's *Madalasa Charitram*, Nalla Dikshita's *Gangavatharana Kavya*, Mahadeva Kavi's *Suka Samdesa*, Venkata Krishna's *Natesa Vijaya* or *Uttara Champu*, are restatements in poetical forms of subjects again borrowed of the Puranas. Excepting the first named, namely, Gangadevi's, the rest were all produced after the extinction of the Sangama Dynasty by the usurpation of the throne by Saluva Narasimha. This mass of epic types is considerably little when compared to the quantity of 'Critical Works' in Rhetoric, Annotation, etc., which were produced in rather a redhot craze, in the light of the canons already established, for purposes of arriving at some finality in estimates of classicists like Kalidasa, Bhasa, Bhavabhuti etc. Vamana Bhatta Bana's *Bhava Sringara Bhushana* King Sarvanga Singama's *Nataka Paribhasa*, and Rasarnava Sudhakara, Vydyanatha Ekambaranatha's *Pratapa Rudra Yasobhushana*, Kolachela Mallinatha's *Commentaries on Kalidasa's Sakuntala*, Kumara Sambhava, Megha-Samdesa etc., Narahari's (disciple of Vidyaranya) *Naishada Deepika* and *Commentary on Kavya Prakasn*, Vidya Madhava's *Commentary on Kalidasa's Kumara Sambhava*, Abhinava Bhatta Bana's *Sringara Deepika*,—a commentary on *Amaruka*,—Kataya Vema's *Commentary on Kalidasa's Sakuntala* and other works, Chamundapa Charya's *Prayoga Ratnamala*, Saluva Gopa Thippa's elucidation of Vamana's *Kavyalamkara*, Arunagiri's and Lakshmidhara's (*Lolla*) *Commentaries on*

Samkara's Saundaryalahari, Mallikarjuna Immadi Deva-
 raya's Mahanataka Sudhanidhi and Ratiratna Pradeepika,
 Sri Krishnadeva Raya's Rasa Manjari, Satyavadhuprinana
 and Sakala Kathasara Samgraha, Jagannatha Pandit's
 Rasagangadhara, Govinda Dikshita's Sahitya Sudha,
 Yagna Narayana Dikshta's Sahitya Ratnakara, are a few
 recognised and precious elucidations of art canons esta-
 blished already. One is simply surprized at the fine eru-
 dition and the delicate analysis they often brought to
 bear in their critical judgment. It is unnecessary to stress
 how encyclopaedic and illuminating many of the above
 are, as well as the fact how cultured the Vijayanagar
 Kings and their Satraps were, who not only patronised
 learning but were also learned authors themselves. In the
 field of Drama there is really a dearth until the Vijaya-
 nagar glory had really eclipsed and glowered for a while
 in the courts of Tanjore and Madura, the centres of lite-
 rary activity having shifted to these places. Even there
 the production of Dramas was very meagre and the
 quality poor when compared to the work of the inspiring
 classicists like Kalidasa, Bhasa, Bhavabhuti, Harsha etc.
 Virupaksha's Narayani Vijayam, Arunagiri's Yogananda
 Prahasana and Sri Krishnadeva Raya's Jambavathi Pari-
 nayam are but a few cases in the desert between 1336
 and 1565 A. D. Nalla Dikshita's Subhadra Parinayam,
 and Sringera Sarvasvabharana, Nilakanta Dikshita's Nala
 Charitra Nataka, Ramabhadra Dikshita's Janaki Pari-
 naya, Sringera Tilaka, Patanjali Charitra, Venkatakrishna's
 Kusalava Vijaya, Mahadeva Kavi's Adbhata Darpana,
 Nataka, Appa Dvarin's Madanabhushana Bana, and King
 Raghunatha's Parijata Haranam, Gajendra Moksham, Nala
 Charitra, Rukmini Krishna Vivaha etc., are products of
 the Tanjore and Madura Courts. From the titles it is not
 difficult to see how these dramatists depended still for
 inspiration on puranic themes. In short, this was again,
 a quasi-classical activity.

It is indeed a consolation that the few works on
 Logic produced during the period are brilliant examples

of how the intellect in its most sharp and merciless analysis could be helpful in transfiguring the abstract into the concrete, and thereby discover Truth from amid the chequer-play of its seeming likenesses. Some of the texts on Logic are Madhava Bhatta's Tarka Bhasya Vivarana, Balabhadra's Tarka Bhasa Tika, Narayana Bhatta's Tarka Bhasa Prakasa, Murari Bhatta's Tarka Prakasa etc. Vidya Madhava Suri's work on Astronomy titled Muhurtha Darsana or Vidyamadhaviya is a good book of its kind. Lakshmana Pandita's Vaidya Raja Vallabha medical work, I am informed is a thought provoking text.

TELUGU LITERATURE UNDER MADURA NAIKS.

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Though the Telugu Naiks ruled over Madura from 1559 A.D. beginning with Viswanātha Nāyaka and ending with Mīnākshi (1736 A.D.), yet it is from Tirumala Nayaka (1623—1659 A.D.) that we find the beginnings of literary activity in Telugu in Madura. It was fostered by Chokkanātha (1659—82) Muddalagiri, (1678 A.D.) the grand sons of Tirumala and reached its zenith in the time of Vijayarang Chokkanātha (1706—1732 A.D.).

Tirumala Nāyaka 1623—1659 A.D.)

Tirumala Nayaka was a great patron of Arts and Architecture. Linganamakhi Kāmēswara kavi, the Telugu poet, who adorned the Nāyaka court at Madura for nearly a quarter of a century, first entered the court of Tirumala and was highly patronized by him. In the Colophon to his work Satyabhāmā Santvanamu; Kāmēswarakavi states that he was honoured by Tirumala with royal insignia. (Mukta, Chhatra, Chāmara, Kalāchika and Kanaka Andōlika. (Pearl Umbrella, Chowrie fans, Gold spittoons Gold Palanquin.)

We have not come across any piece of literature connected with Tirumala Nāyaka and Kāmēswara kavi to be worthy of the great honour conferred by Tirumala.

‘దక్షిణసింహాసనాధ్యక్ష తిరుమల క్షమాకాంత కరుణాకటాక్షలక్షిత
స్వచ్ఛముక్తగుళుచ్ఛసిత చ్ఛత్రచామర కళాచికా కనకాందోళికాది
రాజోపచార’

Satyabhāmā Santvanamu- Canto 1, Page 14.

Strungara Kavya Grantha Mandalī Edition

Masulipatam 1937.

Colophon at the end of 1st Canto. All the four Cantos contain this Colophon.

Chokkanātha Nāyaka (1659—1682)

Kāmēśwarakavi, in the early years of Chokkanātha's reign, wrote Dhēnu māhātmyamu, (The greatness of cows) in prose, and thus inaugurated the era of prose in Telugu Literature, for the beginnings of which the Madura Nāyaka rule is still famous in the history of Southern school in Telugu Literature. At the beginning of the work, Kāmēśwarakavi invoked the blessing of God Sri Ranganātha and God Chokkanatha. He wrote this in simple and idiomatic prose with verses at the beginning and ending. The work is unprinted, and the only manuscript copy available is in the Tanjore Library.¹

Muddalagiri (1674—1678 A.D)

Muddalagiri is the grand-son of Tirumala Nayaka and the foster brother of Chokkanatha. Kameswarakavi to whom already a reference is made, dedicated his work Satyabhāmā santwanamu to Muddalagiri about 1674 A.D when he was ruling Madura. The work is important from a historical

1 Dhēnu māhātmyamu A descriptive catalogue of Telugu Manuscripts in Tanjore Library. No. 676-677 Pages 279 to 281 (Andhra University Publication) 1935.

Beginning:

శా. శ్రీరామామణి వింతగా సురమునం ♦ జెన్నొంది కొల్లుండ నెం
తేరంగంబను కట్టుమట్టున సదా ♦ దీన్యత్ప్రపాధార ఊ
లారూఢిం దగ కామధేనువువలెన్ ♦ రక్షించి లోకంబులో
శ్రీరంగేశ్వరుడు చొక్కనాథ(నృప) శా ♦ రిన్ వేడుకల్ బోవుతన్.

Colophon verse:—

చ. వివిధకలాకలాపఖని ♦ వెంగన లింగ మభేంద్రు నాగ స
త్కవి తిరుకామకోవిద శి ♦ ఖామణి ధీరులు పాకవైరి లో
కవికచకల్పక స్తభక గంధధురంధరసూక్తియుక్తి నౌ
సీవు ననిమెచ్చు నావుల మహాత్మ్య మొనర్చెను తేటమాటలన్.

point of view since it gives a complete geneology of Madhura Nayakas from Nagama to Muddalagiri. The Avatarika (Introduction) portion contains 116 verses with a big prose intervening. I will first give the geneology according to this work, and in comparison with that given in the History of the Nayaks of Madura, enumerate the historical points that may be gleaned from the introduction.

The name Muddalagiri is a shortened form of Muddu Alagādiri, or Alagiri and Kameswarakavi uses this name only with very slight variations only when metrical exigencies require it. In the present histories, his name is variously given as, Muttu Alakādiri, Alagiri Nāyaka. Muttu Linga Naika. In the Telugu grant dated 1678 issued by Muddalagiri, he subscribes himself as Muddu Alagiri Nayudu, the grand-son of Viswanatha Nayani Tirumala Nayadu and the son of Muddu Virappa Nayadu. Since the Madura Nayaks were Telugu Nayaks they used their mother tongue in the inscriptions and subscribed their signatures also in the truly telugu fashion at the end eg Mahārāja Many Rāja Sri Viswanātha nayani Ayyalu garu¹ Vijayaranga Chokkanatha used to sign as "Vijaya ranga Chokkanatha Nāyanayya vralu."² I have, therefore, adopted the spelling as given in the body of the work by the poet.

1. మహారాజమాన్యరాజు శ్రీ విశ్వనాథనాయని అయ్యలుగారు.
2. విజయరంగ చొక్కనాథ నాయనయ్యవ్రాలు.

Geneology according to Satyabhāmā Santwanamu

In the fourth Caste.

Nagaya or Nagama

|
Viswanātha (M. Virājamma)|
Pedda Krishna|
Pedda Vīra (M. Tirumaladevi)

Vissa

Kumara Krishna

Kasturi Ranga

Muddu Krishna

Muddu Vira

Tirumala
(M. Alavelamma)

Kumara Muddu Vira

(Wives)

1. Minākshi
|
Chokkanātha,
(Son)2. Lingamba
|
Muddalagiri,
|
Two wives
|3. Ajamma
|
1. Atchyuta-
2. Chinna
Atchyuta.
(Sons)4. Madhura
Nayika
|
Narasimha

Rukmini

Minākshi

The geneology as given in the History of
the Nayaks of Madura.

Nāgama Nāyaka of the Kāsyapa gotra.

|
Viswanātha Nāyaka (in) Nāgamā
(C. 1529—64)

|
Krishṇappa Nāyaka I
(M) Lakshmama or Lakshmyambika
(1564—72)

|
Virappa Nāyaka (M) Tirumalāmbika
(1572—95)

Krishnappa Nāyaka II Visvappa Kastūri Rangappa
(1595—1601) |
Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka
(1601—09)

Muttu Virappa Tirumala Nayaka Kumāra muttu
Nayak I (C 1623—59)
(1609—C 1623) |
Muttu Virappa Nayaka II
(1659)

Chokkanatha Nāyaka Muttulinga Nayaka
(1659—1682) 1678

M Mangammal
|
Muttu Virappa Nayaka III
(1682—9)

|
Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Nayaka
(1706—32)
M Minakshi
(1732—6)

The geneeology given in history is based on chronicles and inscriptions, while that given in literary work is based on tradition. But the latter agrees with inscriptions¹, and gives us more details about the family history of the Nayaks, which are not available to us from any other source for comparison. I will give the equivalent names used in both for clarification.

Satyabhāmā Sāntwanamu.

History

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Pedda Krishna | Krishnappa Nayaka I |
| 2. Pedda Vīra | Virappa Nayaka |
| 3. Vissa | Viswappa |
| 4. Kumara Krishna | Krishnappa Nayaka II |
| 5. Muddu Krishna | Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka |
| 6. Muddu Vīra | Muttu Virappa Nayaka I |
| 7. Kumara Muddu Vīra | do. No. II |
| 8. Muddalagiri | Muttu Linga Nayaka |

Other points.

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. The name of the wife of Viswanātha Nayaka is Vīrājamma. | Nāgama according to inscriptions. |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|

(We do not know whether the above is a pet name with which the author is familiar. It is in this name that this source differs. There can be no different reading for this as the rhyme (Prasa) in which the name occurs is Vi².)

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2. Name not given. | Name of the wife of Krishnappa Nayaka is Lakshmamma according to inscriptions. |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

1. The Kuniyūm plates of Venkata II. Ep. Indica Vol. III No. 34, page 239.

2. కం. ఆ విశ్వనాథస్వపతికి

శ్రీ) వీరాజమకు పెద్దకృష్ణస్వపాలుండు

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 3. Vissa or Viswappa is the eldest son. | Viswappa is the second son. |
| 4. The name of the wife of Tirumala Nayaka is Alamelu (Alamelu Manga), the consort of Sri Venkateswara. | Not given |
| 5. Muddu Vira, (Virappa Nayaka II has four wives, and five sons. | „ |

Kameswara kavi was at the Court of Madura since the days of Tirumala Nayaka and as such he must have had intimate knowledge of the family history of the grand children of Tirumala Nayaka. He clearly stated that all the brothers of Mudalagiri were living at the time of the composition of the work.¹ The names of the wives of Mudalagiri are also not known from any other source.

The points relating to history are enumerated below. They confirm the incidents given both in tradition and inscriptions.

1. † Nāgama Nayaka bathed in the Gāṅges and worshipped Viśwanātha of Benāres and begot a son Viśwanātha. (verse 4)
2. § Viśwanātha conquered seventy-two kings (Paliyagars) and held the title of Āruhannibbaraganda (conqueror of 72 chieftains) (47)

1. అన్నలు తమ్ము లీకరణినందఱు నొద్దికయై యశోరమన్ చెన్ను వహింప. (Verse 106)

† This is corroborated by inscriptional and traditional evidence. (Kuniyūr plates of Venkata III, Ep. Ind. Vol. III, page 254, verse 49). Mrutunjaya Manuscripts Tyler O.H.M.S.S 11, page 105). (Rev. Heras. Aravīdu Dynasty, page 121).

§ This confirms the fact that 72 Palayams were in vogue even before Viswanātha, and Viswanātha systematized this Palagar system (Rev. Heras Ibid, page 131, ౧౩౪).

3. † He brought from Vijayanagara the imperial capital
 - the image of Durga, (the presiding deity of the Vijayanagar kingdom installed by the famous Vidyaranya) to Madura; and by her grace became prosperous. (48)
4. This Military prowess of Tirumala Nayaka at the siege of Gingee is described. (69)
5. Tirumala Nayaka's Court was crowded with Poets, Pandits and Musicians. (73)
6. Muddalagiri was also ruling along with his brother, Chokkanātha Nāyaka. (107)
7. Muddalagiri was a musician and an adept in playing on Veena. He taught the ladies in the court this art. (Verse 111)

Kameswarakavi thus immortalized Muddalagiri in his work by giving the above historical facts

Kameswara kavi is also a great musician and an expert in playing on Vina. It seems he composed varnas, gitas and swaras but none have come down to us.¹ Thus we see that Kameswara kavi is great both in Sangīta and Sāhitya, and his greatness as a musician also might have attracted Muddalagiri who is also a musician

Satyabhāmā Santwanamu or soothing the anger of Satyabhāmā by Krishna is a work in champu style (Prabandha) in four cantos. The predominant element is

This fact is noted by Chroniclers and historians thus: 'Viswanatha was a very staunch Hindu who carried from Vijayanagara to Madura the statue of the goddess Durga and as soon as he reached his capital restored and enlarged its temple' The Pandyaraja charitra also confirms the event. Aravidu dynasty, page 167. History of Madura Naik kingdom. I A. 1917. Tanjavur Andhra rajula charitra. Pandyarajula charitra.

1. ధీరజనహృదయరంజక వచోవిహారవల్లకీవాదనధురీణ వర్ణగీతాది గాంధర్వ స్వరకల్పనాప్రదీప. (Colophon)

Sringara Rasa, and the poet shows some individuality in taking this theme which has been already handled by greater poets like Nachana Soma and Pothana before him.

Another work of Kāmēśwara kavi is Rukmiṇī Parinayamu dedicated to Muddalagiri before Satyabhāmā Santvanamu.¹ But the work is unfortunately not available. The work must have probably been written at the time of Muddalagiri's marriage with Rukmini his first wife and Satyabhama Santwanamu at the marriage of his second wife Meenakshi²

As regards the personal history of Kameswarakavi we know that he belonged to the Linganamakhi family. His father is Nāgana and his mother is Kāmaski. He is a great devotee of Sri Kāḷahastiśwara and Jñāna Prai Sunāmbika. He is also known as Tirukamakavi in Verse 32, he is addressed as Tirukama Satkavi. The gana in the metre requires Tiru and not Sri. The Dhēnu mahatmyamu already referred to bears this name. But I have used Kameswarakavi throughout as this name is familiar to the Telugu scholars. Kameswarakavi is mentioned in Lives of Telugu poets by late K. Veeresalingam Pantulu nearly 53 years ago, and his book Satyahhama Santvanamu is known to the Telugu Literary world since then (Lives of Telugu poets, part III 1898 (revised) page 13. There are two Editions of Satyabhama santvanamu.

1. Srungara Granthamala, Edition 1930, Madras with introduction. Not available
 2. Srungara Kavya Granthamandali, Edition 1937, Masulipatam. Contains a critical and analytical
1. అనువుగ రుక్మిణీపరిణయంబును మున్ హవణించి యార్జ్యతానన.
(Verse 32) Introduction.
 - 2 Verses 98 and 99 In verse 35. Muddalagiri is compared to Krishna, who is a Dakshina Nayaka (of pun on the word Dakshina Nayaka. 1. The ruler of Southern country Dakshina Simhasanadhyaksha. 2. A Nayaka who loves more than one Nayaki; and thus the author justified his patron's request and his undertaking.

introduction with variations of readings by the present writer. available.

Ganapavarapu Venkata Kavi.

Another great poet patronized by Muddalagiri is the famous Ganapavarapu Venkata kavi. Venkatakavi is a voluminous writer, on Grammar, Prosody, Poetics in Telugu and a master of Chaturvidha Kavita (four kinds of poetry Āśu, Madhura, Chitra and Vistara). He wrote the famous, Vidyāvati Dandaka at the instance of Muddalagiri and was greatly honoured by him. Venkata kavi belonged to Ganapavaram in Guntur District and his long journey to Madura shows the extent of the fame of Muddalagiri in the domain of Telugu Literature.

Vidyavati Dandakam is unprinted¹ and I give below the relevant portion.

“శ్రీ విశ్వనాథాస్వయాంబోధిచందుండు... సత్కాశ్యపా
భిఖ్యగోతుండు, భాస్వచ్చరితుండు, శ్రీతిమ్మలోర్వితలాధీశపాత్రుం
డు, వీరావనీపాలపుత్రుండు, వీరాధివీరస్తుతోదారి దోస్సారవ చొచ్చి
క్కనాథప్రీతిశాగ్రణీసోదరుం, డాశిత్రతాణబద్ధాదరుం డర్భంన్యాస
మానోల్లసల్లింగమాంబా వధూ గర్భశుక్తిస్ఫురన్మాక్తికాకారుడై
యొప్పు ముద్దళ్ళరిక్షోణిపాలుండు...చొకాటంబుగా రాజసం బొప్ప
నింజోలగంబుండి విద్యావతీకన్యకారత్నమాతీయమా నాట్యశాలా
స్థలీపాత్రలందిల్ల...సన్మానపాత్రంబుగా శ్రీమించి వర్ధిల్లు ... గుణా
మేయ లక్ష్మీనివాస స్ఫురత్పాండ్యసింహాసనాధ్యక్షపేరన్, జయో
దాత ముద్దళ్ళరిక్షోతలాధీశపేరన్ ... మహాలక్ష్మణగ్రంథభాషాభి
ధానప్రభామాధురీసాధురీత్యర్థవచ్చబ్బ బౌధానుబంధ ప్రబంధాధి
నాథాప్రయామాత్యరాజ్యేంద్రకార్యప్రణీతంబుగాబొల్చు నా పుష్ప
కోదండకంబైన విద్యానతీదండకం బుగ్వి నాచంద్రితారార్కమై
యొప్పు నెల్లప్పుడుకా.

1 Only one manuscript copy is available. (Vide a descriptive catalogue of the Telugu Manuscripts Vol. VIII. Yakshagānās and Dandakams (Nos. 1834—2040)

No. 2014, page 2262—2263. Government, Oriental Manuscripts, Madras.

This Dandakam is very important in determining the date of Venkatakavi. Venkatakavi in the Colophon of his *Magnum Opus*, the *Prabandharaju Venkateswara Vijaya vilasamu*¹ states that he was honoured by the Pandya king and does not fail to enumerate *Vidyavati Dandakam* in the list of his compositions given in that work.² Late K. Veeresalingam in his *lives of poets* (Part III) places Venkatakavi after Kuchimanchi Timmakavi (1690—1760 A.D.) i.e. in the second half of the 18th century. But from the above source we can definitely place Venkatakavi in the second half of the 17th century exactly a century back. Venkatakavi clearly says in the Dandaka that Muddalagiri is from the family of Viswanātha of the Kāsyapa gotra, grand-son of Tirumala, son of Virappa and brother of Chokkanātha, and hence there is no doubt that Venkatakavi was at the Court of Muddalagiri and he lived about 1670. This fact, that he is honoured by the Pandya King is also noted in the Colophon of *Prabandharaja*

1. Printed in *Amudrita grantha Chintamani series* Nellore 1892. page 5.

‘అని తలంపుచు నొక్కనాడు - కర్ణాటకుండీర పాండ్యదేశాధీశ
ముఖ నిఖిలధరణీవర మణిదత్తమత్తైభ ఖర్తలాణికపల్యంకికాందోళి
కాదిచిరత్న రత్నఖచిత రుచిరాభరణగణప్రకాశిత విభవండును’

The Colophon at the end of ii canto of *Sarvalakshana* ‘*Siromani*’ also states ‘కర్ణాటకుండీర పాండ్యమండలాధీశప్రేము
ఖాఖిల మహీమండలాఖండలదత్తమత్తసింధుర సైంధవాందోళికాచి
రత్నరత్నాలబరాది వస్తుప్రశస్తమందిర.

Part III 1898. Pages 163—168.

2. చంప విద్యావతీదండకరాజంబు సులభమే రసముపొచ్చుగ
నొసర్ప.’ *Avatarika* (Introduction) verse 50.

Page 11, above edition, the only printed edition rarely procurable.

The second canto is the Lexicon known as *Venkata-tēśan dvaramu* Printed 1895.

Venkateswara Vijaya vilasamu, and Sarvalakshana Sirōmani, a great work on Prosody and Poetics.

An anonymous work in Telugu known as Pedalḡari Vijayamu (పెదల్గరి విజయము) is found in the Govt. Oriental Library, Madras (R. 126—9) Pages 384—385 (Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts. Part 3, Telugn) (1910-11-12-13).

This narrates in stanzas in Utpalamalika metre the victory won on the four ramparts of the Tanjore Fort by Pedalḡari, a ruling chief of Tanjore over the son of Sahaji, who attacked it to regain it as one of his father's possessions. It contains four parts known as Tūrpu malika, (About Eastern gate) Dakshinapu malika (about Southern gate) Padamati malika (about Western gate) and Uttarapu malika (about Northern gate).

Beginning:

పోటరినంట తా సహజపుత్తుడొ కాకానొకనాడు తూరుపుం

బేటకుజేరి తంజపుట ఛేదనమందలి విస్ఫుచక్రపుం

గోటకు లగ్గలెక్కు మదిగోరి కఠోరవజీరకోటిక

హోటకుటంకముల్ బిరుదులైన సరాలు వరాలు మాడ లే

ర్పాటుగఁ గేడెముల్ మెఱుగుబట్టె సముల్ దగళాల్

నెరాజిరాల్ పెదల్గరిక్షమా

End:

పాలునితో డుతకఁ దెలుపఁ బల్కురువారికి నస్తువాహనాల్

చేలనములున్ ధనంబులు విశేషములున్ దయచేసి కోపపా

పాలయ్యలైనవారి సకలార్థములున్ మఱునాడు ఖాసదా

రీలకు వెచ్చవెట్టి చిగిరించిన చిత్తముతోడ వేడుకల్

చాలుకొనం బసిండిమొగసాల కిరీటపతుల్ నుతింపఁ బే

గోలగమై తదీయ విజయోచితవార్త నెఱుంగసంగతిన్

సాలములోన జాగటలు చాటగఁబంచి భజించి రాజు గో

పాలునకున్ రథోత్సవము బల్ తిరునాళ్ళుఘటించినిత్య ల

క్ష్మీతలనావిహారుడయి చెన్నునహించుచు ముద్దువీరభూ

పాల పెదల్గరిప్రభు డపారఁ శుభోన్నతి ధాతివర్ధిలున్.

In the above excerpt, Padalgari is referred to being the son of Muddu Vira. This is a scribal error for Muddalagiri. It is a historical fact that Muddalagiri was occupying Tanjore at the time when Ekoji son of Sahajee invaded and Muddalagiri tried to defend it. The above work might have been composed in that connection either by Venkata kavi or Sri Kameswara kavi.

History of Madura Naiks, page 180.

Vijayaranga Chokkanātha.

(1706—32)

The reign of Vijayaranga Chokkanātha is one of the brightest periods in the history of the Southern school of Telugu Literature. He himself is a poet of great merit and patronized a number of poets who adorned his court and whose works bear ample testimony to his patronage and his inordinate love for his mother tongue. Many of the inscriptions issued in his time are in Telugu¹ and he used to sign in genuine Telugu fashion 'Vijayaranga Chokkanātha nayanayya vralu.' His love for Telugu Language and literature was fostered to a great extent by his grand-mother Mangamma (Mangammāl of histories) who ruled Madura during the minority of Vijayaranga Chokkanātha for 15 years from 1689—1706. Of the 18 inscriptions issued in the time of Mangamma 10 are in Telugu. Three of them are issued by Vijayaranga Chokkanātha in Telugu. I give below one more inscription in Telugu issued by Vijayaranga Chokkanātha which is not given in the list quoted below. A copy of the inscription is published in Telugu Academy Journal (Madras) now at Cocanada, Vol III, pages 219—223. The donor is Vijayaranga Chokkanātha. The donee is one Sridhara Venkata Sastri.² It is dated S.S. 1634 i. e. 1712 A.D. It is a gift

1. History of the Nayaks of Madura. Inscriptions 362 to 368 Chronologically arranged.

See Nos 195, 198—212.

2. He is not to be confounded with the famous Sridhara Venkatēsa (Ayyaval) a protege of Shahaji the Maharata Raja of Tanjore (1684—1711 A.D.)

of land in Parakkudi village, east of Dindigal. This is in Telugu.

Though no poetical work of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha has come down to us, two of his prose works are available though in manuscript. One is Sri Ranga Mahātmyamu and the other is Māgha Mahatmyamu.¹ They are written in flowing² easy style and verses are adorned at the beginning and ending of each Adhyaya. The two books deserve publication, as they show the impetus given by the King to the poet by showing an example to write prose works, and enrich prose literature, which is a distinct mark of Madura Nayak literature.

Sriranga mahatmyamu is a prose work in 10 adhyas and describes the greatness of the shrine of Srirangam as the name indicates. Magha mahatmyamu is a prose work in 15 adhyayas. It describes the greatness of the month of Magha. It is dedicated to Ranganatha as the verse at the beginning of the work indicates. The Colophons read as under.

ఇది శ్రీ పాండ్యమండలాధీశ్వర విజయరంగచోక్కనాథభూపాల
ప్రణీతంబైన శ్రీరంగమహాత్మ్య వచనకావ్యంబున సర్వంబును పది
యవ యధ్యాయము.

The poets that are directly patronized by Vijayaranga Chokkanatha are:—

1. *Samukhamu Venkata Krishnappa Nāyudu.*

He is a courtier of the Sāmantha rank and the son of Minakshi Nayudu. Vijayaranga honoured him with royal insignia. He is the author of the following works:

1. Jaimini Bharatamu (Aśvamēdha Parvamu) a prose work

1 Sri Ranga Mahatmyamu. Manuscript 3 available
Two in the University Library in the Madras University.
Two in the Telugu Academy Library, Cocanada.
One in the Govt. Oriental Manuscript Library (Madras).

2. Maghamahatmyamu.

One manuscript in Telugu Academy Library, Cocanada.

in five cantoes dedicated to his patron¹ This work is printed and is well known to Literatures of modern times.

2. Ahalya sankrandanam— A Srungara Prabandha dealing with the amours of Indra with Ahalya in 3 cantoes,² contains excellent poetry.
3. Rādhika Sāntwanamu — the soothing of Radha by Krishna — a poem in one canto. This is the work which formed the basis of the work of Muddu Paṇi of the same name in the time of Pratapa-simha, Maharataraja of Tanjore³
4. Sārangadhara charitra— A prose work in 3 cantoes describing the well known story of Sarangadhara.

2 Kundurthi Venkatachala Kavi.

Author of Mitravinda Parinayamu, and Kartika Mahatyamu two Prabandhas. His prose versions of Ramayana, Bharata and Bhagavata not available. So also his dramas and other small kavyas are not available. His grandfather Govindamatya was honoured by Vira Venkatapati raya by giving him a work known as Bharati Parinayamu and he is honoured by Vijayaranga Chokkanatha by Gold Palanquins etc⁵ Vijayaranga is mentioned as Kavikalpaka,

1. By the Telugu Academy, Cocanada. In the Library 2 manuscript copies available. Printed 1916.

2. Edition— Srungara Granthamala, Madras 1930.

2 a. గీ. సీతకగునంచు పాండ్యభూనేతవిజయ

రంగ చొక్కేందు) డత్తంతరంగ సబహు

మాన సామాజికత్వ మింపూన నొసఁగె

సముఖ వేంకటకృష్ణేంద్ర)! శౌర్యసాంద్ర).

Introduction, Ahalya Sankrandanam.

3 Edition— Srungara Kavya Grandhamandali

4. Unprinted Manuscript. Telugu Academy, Cocanada.

5. చ. కవిజనకల్పకం బఖలకౌర్యరసజ్ఞఁ డఖండపాండ్యభూ
ధవుఁడు మహానుభావుఁ డతిధార్మికు డర్యవజ్రధారియై

and Kavya rasagna. His 'Mitravinda parinayamu' is a work in 6 cantos dealing with the marriage of Mitravinda with Krishna and his Kartiki Mahatmyamu is a work in 3 cantos dealing with the holiness of Kartiki month.¹

3. *Velidandla Alaghari.*

Alaghari wrote Sudanta Parinayam at the instance of Chokkanatha.² His father Peda Raghava was one of the courtiers of Chokkanatha. His Sudanta Parinayamu is a work in 4 cantos and deals with the marriage of Sudanta with Krishna. The work is unprinted,³ and the introductory portion of the work gives many interesting details about the poets in the Velidandla family including Velidandla Venkatapathi the author of Radha Madhava Samvadamu.

Alagari states that his father Velidandla Peda Raghava was one of the Councillors¹ of the Pandyēsa i.e. Vijaya-ranga Chokkanatha. He is the minister known to History as Venkata Raghavacharya.⁴

న విజయరంగచోక్కనరనాథుఁడు నీ కవితాసమగ్ర్యైవై
భనములుమెచ్చి నీ కొసగె భర్తమణీశిబికాదినంపదల్.

Introduction to Mintravinda Parinayamu
(Printed in 1887. Amudrita Grantha Chintamani,
Nellore.

1. Unprinted Manuscript Telugu Academy, Cocanada.

2. పంచతిరునడిరాజ సప్తాంగపాలి
శాత్రవకంఠశాసనశూలి శ్రీవిజయరంగ
చోక్క ధాత్రీపమాళి నిండుకొలువుండి వేడ్క-బిలువనంపి
గృతియొనర్చుము శ్రీరంగిపతికి ననియె.

Introduction, Sudanta Parinayamu.

Unprinted Manuscript, T. A. C.

3. పాండ్యేశ్వర పరమాత్మ పారిషద్యవరుండు ... వెలిదండ్రు పెద్ద
రాఘవవిభుండు.

4. History of the Madura Naiks, pages 230, 237.

4. *Baddepūdi Errarāja.*

Errarāja is a Samanta of Vijaya Ranga Chokkanātha. He belongs to Panta vamsa and of Kāluvakolanu gōtra. He is the son of Krishna Bhūpa and Mīnāmba. He is a disciple of Rēvuri Ananta, a great Telugu poet, who wrote Gadhēyopakhyanamu, and Sri Krishna Mahātmyamu. His work 'Yuvajana Hridayanuranjanamu' is the story of Tara and Chandra. Only two cantos are available in manuscript. The author states that he is honoured with royal insignia by Vijayaranga Chokkanātha.¹

5. *Sēsham Venkatapathi.*

A friend of Venkata Krishnappa naika and author of Tāra Śaśānka Vijayamu, a Prabandha of the same theme as that of Yerrarāja's work. It is in 3 cantos and is admired for its felicity of expression and erotic sentiment. It is dedicated to Vangala Seenayya one of the ministers of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha.

6. *Vangala Seenayya.*

Seenayya was proficient both in music and poetry. He wrote the life of Viśiṣṭādwaita Teacher Ramanuja in Prabandha style. Venkatapathi in his Tārāśaśānka refers to these facts.¹ Seenayya's work is known as Ramanuja Charitramu. (Unprinted manuscript available in S. V. R. Institute, Tirupati). Printed editions of Tārāśaśānka Vijayamu are available from 1865.

7. *Tirumala Kavi.*

Tirumalakavi wrote a Yakshagāna (an indigenous dramatic composition in Telugu) known as Chitrakūta Mahātmyamu. In the Colophon he says that he was living

1. మధుర దేశాధీశ విజయరంగచోక్కనాథ ధరానాథవిల్లిరి సువర్ణ
దండప్రకీర్తనప్రసన్నత) పల్లంకికాప్రముఖ బహువిధరాజలక్ష
ణానుషంగ.

(Colophon at the end of 1st and 2nd cantoes, Telugu Academy manuscript No. 390. Telugu Academy Journal Vol. V, pages 312—324.

at Madura in the time of Vijayaranga Chokkanātha and was greatly honoured by him.² The work is unprinted and manuscript available at Tanjore Library.

(No. 520, page 209).

8. *Syāmarāya Kavi.*

Syāmarāmakavi who wrote Rāmāyaṇamu in prose is of Aśwalāyana Sūtra and Vasista gōtra. His father is Krishnayamatya and his brother is Lakshmipati. Syamarāya kavi highly speaks himself of his proficiency in Darsanās and his poetic skill in Sanskrit and Telugu. He is known as Asahāya kavi (a poet who can cōmpose originally without referring to any previous works and authors) and a Chatuṣśāstra Pandita.

1. సీనఘనుడు ... పాండ్యమాన మధురాధరాఖండల శ్రీ) విజ
యరంగచొక్కనాథ మహీనాథ కృపాకటాక్షపీక్షణాను
క్షణపరివర్ధమాన ... పాండ్యేశ్వర సేహళంకృత శ్రీ) విజ
యరంగచొక్కనాథ జయగురుప్రసాద సంపన్నిత్య
రామానుజమహాచరిత్రఘటనకలయకువలయవికసనుడు, సంగీత
విద్యావినోద - భూలోకనారద - రామానుజచరిత్ర వ్రబంధ
సాహితీమోహితానల్పసంతోషవిశంకట వేంకటనగాధీశ్వరుడు.
2. ద్వి. జయశాలియగుచు నొసంగిన శ్రీ) వి
జయరంగచొక్కరాజాధీశునగర
తిర్మలకవి పార్వతీపతి భజన
నిర్మలమతి విష్ణు నిత్యసేవకుడు
సంగీతసాహిత్య చతురుడౌ విజయ
రంగచొక్కావసీరమణుని కృపను.
కర్ణభూషణములు కంఠభూషణము
స్వర్ణాంబరంబులు సరివణితాళి
ననువొంద నదంలం బగ్రహారాది
ఘనబహుమానముల్ గాంచినవాడ.

His Rāmāyaṇamu is dedicated to one Vaiśya named Subbaraya setti of Tummalapati family. He belongs to Parisetla gotra. His grand-father is Mannarusetti and his parents are Krishnamāmba and Venkata Kamisetti. He was a favourite of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha.

The Ramayanamu of Syāmarāyakavi has not completely come down to us. We have 75 sargas of Aranya kanda in manuscript. Yet from the introductory and concluding verses in the work, it may be presumed that he wrote the whole of Rāmāyaṇamu. (Journal of the Telugu Academy Vol. 18, pages 60—63. Mss. No. 168).¹

9. *Sripati Rāmabhadra Kavi.*

Ramabhadrakavi wrote Hālāsya mahatmyamu in prose in 8 Aśwāsas from the original Sanskrit work of the same name. He belonged to Aswalayana sutra and of Kāśyapa gotra. He is the son of Giriamāmba and Surayya. There is no indication in the work that the author belonged to the reign of Vijayaranga Chokkanātha. But he is included in the list of poets in Vijayaranga Chokkanātha's time by H. Sēturamayya a scion of the family of the famous Nudurmati family of Pudukkota state, whose writings are authoritative about Southern school of poets in Madura and Tinnevely Districts. (Vide his article on 'Influence of Telugu Literature in Chola and Pandya countries. Telugu Academy Journal Vol. V, Page 88. Hālāsya Mahatmyamu is noticed in Vol. 18 of the same Journal Pages 78 and 79'.²

1. శ్రీ విజయరంగచోక్కనాథ మహీవరకరుణాకటాక్షవీక్షణపాతుం
డును, వణిగణియు నగు సుబ్బరాయవైశ్యధౌరేయుండు.

2. The Colophon reads:

ఇత శ్రీ మీనాక్షీసుందరేశ్వర సాంద్రకృపారసలబ్ధ కవితా
మాధురీధురీణ కాశ్యపగోత్రాశ్వలాయనసూత్ర శ్రీపతికులపవిత్రచరి
త్ర) శ్రీగిరియమాంబానత్మశత్ర సూరయామాత్యపుత్రకవి రామ
భద్రప్రణీతంబైన హాలాస్యమహాత్మ్యంబను వచనకావ్యంబున...

అశ్వాసము.

10. *Velagapūdi Krishnayāmātya.*

Krishnayāmātya in his work Bhānumadvijayamu gives a full description of his family and works. His father Narahari was honoured by Vijayaranga Chokkanatha and he was the brother-in-law of Boppudi Sambaya, the commander of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha.¹

Boppudi Sambaya is highly spoken of in this work together with his exploits. He is the Commander for 44 lakhs of Madura army.² He is a Commander that was highly honoured by Vijayaranga Chokkanatha of the Pandya country. Sambaya was a contemporary of Sādula Khan, Nawab of Arcot, Anandarao Peshwa and Nanjaraja of Mysore. In his command there were always 60 thousand infantry, 6 thousand horses. He was such a great Commander that he was feared by the rulers of Tanjore and Jingee, the coastal towns, Arcot, Srirangapatam and the Kerala Desa (Travancore).

Sambaya was a great donor. He endowed many Agraharams to Brahmins well versed in vedas. He constructed Gōpuras and Prākāras to Saiva and Vaishṇava temples. He started many schools for promotion of learning with yearly grants. He established many choulries for travellers and also water sheds, and shades. Many groves were planted and many tanks were dug under his patronage. His sister Tirupatamma is the mother

1. క. శ్రీవిజయరంగచోక్కమ

హీవరకరుణాకహక్షపీక్షణ గురుసం

భావిత గజాంత వరల

క్షీ విభవుడు నౌ నరహరి మీఱుక వేడ్కుక.

2. చ. వరగురుపారషంబు నలువండగ నల్పదినాల్లులక్షల

వరలెడు పాండ్యభూమిదళవాయగు సాంబయగారిభావయై

నిరుషమకీర్తిగై కొనిన నిత్యమహాన్నతవైభవుండు నౌ

నరహరి మంత్రిశౌరి కరుణారసహరి సమర్థుడన్నిటక.

of poet Krishnayātmātya. Sambaya's son is Govindaya, and Krishnayātmātya makes mention of him in his work.

సీ. పాండ్యభూమండలాఖండలుండై న వి

జయరంగచొక్కభూజాని కాస్త

మండనుండగు సాంబదండనాథాగణి

తనయులలో మేటి తండ్రియగుచు

సంగీతసాహిత్య సంస్కృతాంధ్ర కవి(త్వ) స

ర్వజ్ఞుడై మేనమఱుందియగుచు

కొమరొప్పు బొప్పురి గోవిందయామాత్యుఁ

డనుపమ విద్యాధికార్యసభను

గీ. నిండుకొలువుండె నపుడు నేదండఁజేరి

సరససల్లాపములుమీఱి చతురమతిని

గీ. విభవ మరుదందఁగనుఁ బూని, విజయరంగ

చొక్క నృపపుంగవునిచేత మిక్కుటముగ

తనరు నిరుపమదాన సంధానఘనుఁడు

మధుర దశవాయి సాంబయామాత్యఘనుఁడు.

సీ. సరిబేటి యార్కాటు సాదుల్లఖానుతో

ఘటియించె నెవ్వాడు ఘనతమీఱి

పేర్చి తంజావూరి పీఠవా యానంద

రాఘవు నెవ్వాడు రహినణంచె

మయిసూరి నంజరాజయగారి ప్రియవాక్య

సంధికి నెవ్వాడు శక్తిదాల్చె

నఱువదివేల్పుంటు నాఱువేల్పుఁబు

లేవికొల్చె నెవ్వాని కలీమి బలిమి

నతడు నగు నాజి జితవైరి యత్యుదారి

సత్త్వసంయుక్త గుణహారి సత్యశిరి

తిలకితపురారి బొప్పుడి కులబలారి
 సదుపకారి శ్రీదశపతి సాంబశౌరి.
 సీ. వేదశాస్త్రపురాణవేది ధరామర
 లసిత్కాగ్రహరంబులను ఘటించి
 హరిహరదేవాలయ సిరగోపుర
 ప్రాకార సన్మంతపము లొనర్చి
 సర్వవిద్యాభ్యాస సంవత్సరగ్రాస
 రక్షిత పాఠశాలలు రచించి
 సకలదేశాగత జన మనోరంజన
 ప్రవరాన్నదానసత్తముల నుంచి
 రమ్యపానీయశాలికారామ కూప
 దీర్ఘకాతకాదూల దివ్యముగను
 కరము సవరించె కీర్తి దిక్కులమించ
 పాండుదశవాయి మేటి సాంబయకిరీటి.

మ. తన భరీనినదం బాకింతవినినంతం జెంజి తంజాపురీ
 ఘనపూర్వాంబుధితీరపట్టణము లొక్కాదాది శ్రీరంగ ప
 ట్టణముక గేరళపట్టణంబులును జిహ్వాడంగ నుత్తంగకీ
 ర్తినిగాంచెన్ షీతి సాంబసైన్యపతి యుద్ధీప్తప్రతాపోన్నతిక.
 అతని తోబుట్టువులలోన... తిరుపతమ మీఱు

తే. అగుచు నల తిరుపతమ్మ తా నాత్మపత్ని
 యై చెలంగగ నన్నరహరార్చ్యుడైగుచు.

Since Krishnayāmātya's father was a Minister under Vijayaranga Chokkanatha, he might have been living in his time and might have probably written the work about 1740 A.D. He gives a list of his works, but all of them are lost.

1. Mālinī mādhavīyam.
2. Gaulika śāstra — One Canto.

3. A Śataka in kanda metre describing the four kinds of Yōga (Haṭha, Rājā, Amanaska and Tārakā) known as Chaturvidha Kanda Padya Śatakamu.
4. Vēdānta Śāra Sangrahamu, - a Vachana Kāvya-Velagapūḍi Vengamātya, translator of Krishṇa Karnāmrutam is one of the ancestors of Krishṇayāmātya.

The work Bhānumadvijayamu is a Prabandha in 5 Cantos. The plot is taken from Uttara Kāśi Khandamu—the marriage of Bhanumantha, a Brahmin youth with Padmavati, the daughter of the King of Ujjain. It contains some adventures of Bhanumantha also and, therefore, it is styled as the adventures of Bhanumantha. Since the author, Krishṇayamatya was an expert in Transcendental Philosophy (Yoga sastramu) he had embedded the principles of that Philosophy in the 5th Canto of the work and hence a commentary became an absolute necessity for the clear understanding of the text. The author himself added a commentary. The work is unprinted. (A descriptive Catalogue of Telugu Manuscripts Vol. II, Prabandhams, Srungara Prabandams No. 606, pages (773—786).

The name of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha was familiar to Telugu people as some of the Chatu verses refer to him.

From the above, one can easily see that he stands in comparison with the Raghunātharaya of Tanjore and with the still more famous Krishna Deva Raya of the Imperial Dynasty. It is a pity that even one of his two prose works has not appeared in print so far, so also of the authors patronised by him.

శ్రీరామ.

స్వస్తి శ్రీ విజయాభ్యుదయ శాలీ(లి)వాహన శకాబ్దంబులు ౧౬౩౪
అగు నేటి ఖరనామ సంవత్సరం మాఘ శు॥ ౮ సోమవాసరం యీ
శుభదినమందు శ్రీమద్రాజాధిరాజ రాజపరమేశ్వర శ్రీవీరప్రతాప...
రాయలయ్యవారు ఘనగిరినగరమందు పృథ్వీసామ్రాజ్యం శేయుచు

న్నండగా కాశ్యపగోత్రం విశ్వనాథనాయని చొక్కనాథనాయ
 నయ్యవారి పౌత్రులైన రంగకృష్ణముద్దు (వీరప్పనాయనయ్యవారి)
 పుత్రులైన శ్రీవిజయరంగచొక్కనాథ నాయనయ్యవారు హరిదస
 గోత్రం ఆపస్తంబసూత్రం యజుశ్శాఖాధ్యాయులైన శ్రీధర లక్ష్మీ
 నృసింహ శాస్త్రులవారి పౌత్రులైన వెంకటాద్రి శాస్త్రులవారి పుత్రు
 లైన శ్రీధర వేంకటేశ్వర శాస్త్రులవారి భూదాన ధర్మశాసనం
 పొందియిచ్చిన కృమమెట్లంన్నను, రాయలయ్యగారు మా న
 మరనాయకాను పాలించిన పాండ్యమండలముతో చేరిన దిండ్డి
 గంటికి తూర్పు పరకుడిగ్రామస్వామి కోవిలకు శిలాశాసనం
 వేయించి యిచ్చిన యల్ల చతురశ్రీమమధ్యమంద్యుండ్రే నంజపుం
 జలున్న సహారంఁగోదకధారాపూర్వకముగా కోవిల వేదవృత్తి
 పురాణవృత్తి స్థాయిగా పుత్రపౌత్రపారంపర్యముగా... విక్రయము
 లకు యోగ్యమానట్లుగాను అష్టభోగ్యస్వామ్యములున్నా అనుభవిం
 చుకొని సుఖానవుండ కాశ్యపగోత్రం విశ్వనాథనాయని చొక్క
 నాథనాయనయ్యవారి పౌత్రులైన రంగకృష్ణ ముద్దువీరప్పనాయ
 నయ్యవారి పుత్రులైన శ్రీ విజయరంగ చొక్కనాథ నాయనయ్య
 వారు. హరిదసగోత్రం (ఆపస్తంబసూత్రం యజుశ్శాఖా)ధ్యాయు
 లైన శ్రీధర లక్ష్మీనృసింహ శాస్త్రులవారి పౌత్రులైన వెంకటాద్రి
 శాస్త్రులవారి పుత్రులైన శ్రీధర వెంకటేశ్వర శాస్త్రులవారి వా
 యించియిచ్చిన భూదానధర్మశాసనం. దానపాలన యోగ్య ధ్యే దా
 నాత్ స్వర్గమవాప్నోతి పాలనాదచ్యుతంపదం నవిషం విషమిత్యా
 హుః బ్రహ్మస్వం పుత్రపౌత్రకం. యీ ధర్మశాసనం వ్రాశి రద్ది
 సముఖం రాయసం గోవిందయ సంస్తుతిని తిరుకామేశ్వరయ్యవ్రాలు.
 విజయరంగచొక్కనాథ నాయనయ్యవారిలు.

(Telugu Academy Journal, Vol. II, pages 222-223)

The above is published from a copy of the manuscript
 in palm-leaf in possession of the Telugu Academy at Coca-
 nada. A copy of the above together with another Telugu

inscription in the time of Mangamma was also published in the same Journal. Since the inscription does not seem to have been noticed or published elsewhere, I give below the copy from the palm-leaf as published in the Journal.

శ్రీరామ.

స్వస్తిశీ విజయాభ్యుదయ శాలీవాహనశకాబ్దం ౧౬౨౮
అగునెటి పార్థివనామసంవత్సరం పుష్య శు ౧౦ అశ్వినీనక్షత్రం.
శుభనామయోగం తైత్తిలకరణం మకరసంక్రాంతి పుణ్య (కాల
మందు) శ్రీమద్రాజాధిరాజ మహారాజపరమేశ్వర శ్రీవీరప్రతాప
శ్రీవీరవెంకట దేవమహారాయలయ్యవారు ఘనగిరి నగరమందు
రత్నసింహాసనాధ్యక్షులై యీ పృథివీసాంబ్రాజ్యం జేయుచున్నుండ
గా కాశ్యపసంగోత్రం తిరుమలనాయనయ్యవారి పౌత్రులైన ముద్దు
వీరప్పనాయనివారి పుత్రులైన విశ్వనాథనాయని చొక్కనాథనా
యని పట్టమహిషియైనట్టి మంగమ్మగారు గార్గసంగోత్రం ఆపస్తంబ
సూత్రం యజుశ్శాఖాధ్యాయులైన అనంతశాస్తులవారి పౌత్రులైన
రామకృష్ణశాస్తులవారి పుత్రులైన శీతారామశాస్తులవారికి యీ
మకరసంక్రాంతిపుణ్యకాలమందు సహారణ్యోదకధారాపూర్వకము
గా యిచ్చిన భూదానశాసనకృమ మెట్లంన్నను-

రాయలయ్యవారు మధురారాజ్యంలో చేరిన దిండికంట్టిశీమలో
శానిప్పట్టియల్ల చతరశ్రమం తూర్పుపారప్పట్టియెల్ల దక్షిణం కొట్ట
పట్టి మరీమాను. నిరురుతిమూల పుంగంగొళంపుంజయల్ల పడమర
...పులి వత్తరం మీనాక్షినాయనిపట్టి యెల్ల. యీ చతురశ్రము
లో చేరిన నంజపుంజమావడ మరవడతోటతోరపు నిధినిజేప జల
తరు పాషాణ అక్షింశ్యాగామి మోదలైన అష్టభోగస్వామ్యములుం
నుభవించుకొని ధర్మంచేసుకవుండమని యీ మకరసంక్రాంతిపుణ్య
కాలమందు సహారణ్యోదక ధారాపూర్వకముగా యిచ్చినారు ...
పుండగలవారు. యిటని సమ్మతించి కాశ్యపసంగోత్రం తిరుమలనాయ
నయ్యవారి పౌత్రులైన ముద్దువీరప్పనాయని పుత్రులైన విశ్వనాథ

నాయని చొక్క-నాథనాయనివారి పట్టమహిషియైన మంగమ్మగారు
 గార్గసోత్రం ఆపస్తంబసూత్రం యజుశ్శాఖాధ్యాయులైన అనంత
 శాస్తులవారి పౌత్రులైన రామకృష్ణశాస్తులవారి పుత్రులైన శీతా
 రామశాస్తులవారి- యిచ్చిన భూదాన ధర్మశాసనం దానపాలన
 యోర్మధ్యే దానాత్సేయోనుపాలనం దానాత్స్వర్ణ మవాప్నోతి
 పాలనాదమ్యతం పదం స్వదత్తాద్విగుణంపుణ్యం పరదత్తానుపాలనం
 పరదత్తాపహారేణ స్వదత్తం నిష్ఫలం భవేత్.

This is a grant of land in Dindikanti Sima by Mangamma, widow of Chokkanatha, on Makara Sankranti day in SŚ 1628 (1706 A.D.) to Sitarāma Śāstri of Garga gōtra, son of Rāmakrishna Śāstri and grand-son of Anantha Śāstri when Śrī Mahārājādhirāja rāja paramēśwara Śrī Vīrapratāpa Śrī Vīra Venkata Dēva Mahārāya was ruling at Ghanagiri (Penugonda).

This seems to be a different one given in the History of Nayak's of Madura (Vide No. 212 of Appendix D. Inscriptions Chronologically arranged). No. 212 reads: 1706 Telugu SŚ. 168 Vyaya, Tinnevely a grant by Mangammal the widow of Chokkanatha Nayaka during the reign of Venkatadeva Raya at Ghanagiri (S.C.P. No. 110) S. C. P. 110 however is identical with C.P. No. 8 of Madras Epigraphical Report for 1936—37 (Page 6 and page 87). The record is in Telugu and relates to a gift of a small plot of land in Tengājj-Sīma i.e. Tenkāsī in the Tinnevely District, made by the Dowager Queen Mangamma to a certain Gangadhara Udāsī for providing food to itinerant pilgrims in Śaka 1000+600+20 (1620 wrong for 1628) Vyaya, Chaitra 2, Śv. 13, Monday Uttara.

From the above it is clear that the inscription which I have given is not noticed before.

Of the Telugu grants of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha, the Jambukeswaram grant of 1710 is well known. It is a grant of lands by Vijayaranga Chokkanatha for the maintenance of worship and feeding of Brahmins in the Saṅkarāchārya Matha at Gaṇāranya kshētra. (Jambukeswa-

ram). It is noticed as No. 4 of Appendix A. M.E.R. 1915 and as No. 214 in the list of inscriptions, in the History of the Nayaks of Madura. It is edited thrice as under:

1. The Jambukeswaram grant of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Nayaka (Śś. 1632) 1710 A. D. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVI, No. 12, pages 88—96.
by S. V. Viswanath, M.A. Trichinopoly.
2. Copper plate Inscriptions of Kāmakōti pitha.
by Late T. A. Gopinatharao.
3. A copper plate inscription of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha. Ś. 1630.

by late J. Ramayya Pantulu, Journal of the Telugu Academy, Vol. 17, No. 5, Pages 234-237.

Late J. Ramayya Pantulu also gives the following information about the charity of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha in his English introduction to Samukham Venkata Krishnappa Naika's Jaimini Bhāratamu (1917). He says in page 1. Vijayaranga Chokkanatha was a great patron of learning and among his many gifts was that of a village to a learned Telugu Brahmin named Sonti Gunnayya whose descendents live now at Periyakolam otherwise called Thenkerai" but has not given any authority for it.

The annual report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1936—37 gives three more Telugu Inscriptions in the time of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Naikas—

1. Copper plate grant in Telugu dated Śāka 1630 Sarvadhari Adi 26 ba. 5 Monday, Uttarabhadra pada Registers gift of land in Ilaṣṣi, a village in Tenkaṣi Sīma, to a certain Sivadasu Udasi for a feeding charity for the merit of the king. (Vijayaranga Chokkanatha) by Kasi Yellari Nayanimgaru with the permission of Rangasayi Nayanivaru, son of Dalakanta Venkata Krishnamma Nayanivaru. The king is stated to belong to Kasyapa gotra. (The dalakanta referred to is the famous Dalavāy Venkata Krishnamma Nayaka who was the one who

served under Chokkanatha, and took part in the war with Tanjore, but who eventually turned a traitor and lost his life in A.D, 1686.

(History of the Nayaks of Madura, page 198)
No. 7 of Appendix A, page 6 (Page 87 A R.)

2. Copper plate grant in Telugu dated Śaka 1644, Kali 4823, Krodhi Aśvija ba. at the time when Venkata-dēva Maharaya ruling from Ghanagiri states that a gift of land made by Surappa Nayaka for worship to the deities Śūra Piḷaiar and Vire Durga, which were left in charge of Periya Pandaram and Chinna Pandaram was mismanaged and that the lands were restored by the Naik Chief Vijayaranga Chokkanatha to the Donor's son Marappa for conducting these charities. The inscription also mentions that he is the grand-son of Chokkanatha, and son of Ranga Krishna Muddu Virapa.

No. 9 of Appendix A, page 6. (A.R. 87).

3. Stone inscription on the beam of the Mandapa on the north side of third prākara in Srirangam in Telugu states that Vijayaranga Chokkanatha has built the Vēdaparayana Mandapa. A copy of this record is also engraved on the beam of the Mandapa on the west side of the same prakara.

No. 10 of Appendix B, page 8. (A.R. 88)

In the report it is further said (page 88) that He (Vijayaranga Chokkanatha) made many a munificent donation to this Temple and life size statues in ivory of himself and his consort kept in the 2nd prakara of the Temple are permanent reminders of the great devotion which he had for god Ranganatha. A few of the bronze and ivory statuettes kept in the Devasthanam Museums are probably votive images representing him. It may be mentioned that this Nayaka ruler uses the sign manual 'Sri Rama' in his copper plate grants.

In the Telugu works, Vijayaranga Chokkanatha was specially described as a firm devotee of God Ranganatha,

and in the Telugu inscription quoted above, we find that Śrī Rāma is used as the sign manual.

Stone inscriptions in Telugu in the years Prabhava and Vibhava state that Muddamma garu, wife of Ranga Krishna Virappa Nayaka made two gold Crowns to the God and granted two villages Iśanaikura and Nanakura to a certain Srinivasayya for maintaining Rāmānujakūṭam while provision for the performance of worship and Sahasranamarchana to the god appears to have been made through a certain Namberu Mallayya. (The years correspond to 1688 and 1689 A.D.)

No. 3 and 4 of Appendix B, page 7.

Muddamma garu is the mother of Vijayaranga Chokkathatha. Samukham Venkata Krishnappa Nayaka, in his Telugu Jaimini Bharatam addresses his patron as Muddamāmbā tanūja. (Son of Muddamma).

By a study of the Telugu inscriptions of Madura Nayaks, most of which have not been edited we not only know the nature of language employed therein for a study of the development of Prose Literature, but also we get a clear idea of the religious attitude of the Madura Nayaks.

The inscriptions are a valuable source for the reconstruction of the religious and social history of Madura in the regime of the Telugu Nayaks, and hence deserve publication.

An account of Telugu works of importance but of anonymous authorship relating to Madura Nayaks is given below.

1. *Rāyāvāchakamu.*

This is a prose work in Telugu giving details about Krishnadevaraya and his campaigns and is considered as a valuable source for the Vijayanagara History. (Vide Sources) It is written by a Stānāpati (Agent) of Viswanatha Nayaka who is identified as Viswanatha Nayaka, the founder of Madura Nayaks. It must have evidently been written either in the time of Viswanatha Nayaka

prior to his death about 1564 A. D. or some time afterwards. Anyhow it belongs to Madura school in Telugu Literature. (Printed by the Telugu Academy, Cocanada.)

2. *Madhura mangūpumścalilā vilāsamu.*

This is a prose work describing the amorous connection between one Madhura Manga and China Vengamarayalu of Anegondi and other princes. Vijayaraghavarayalu of Tanjore, Venkoji, Rajaram, Chokkanatha Nayudu are some of the characters in this work. Though this is a work of obscene nature it is useful to the students of South Indian History who deal with Madura and Tanjore. (Unprinted No. D. 1449) A descriptive Catalogue of the Telugu Manuscripts, Govt. Oriental Library, Madras, Vol. VI, Pages 1766—68.

That Madura Manga was a well known damsel is testified in a Chātu verse given in Telugu Academy Journal, Vol. 18, Page 57. The verse states that she was honoured by Ekoji, the Maharata Raja of Tanjore for her music and dancing.¹ The work refers to the time of Chokkanatha Nayaka. The work is anonymous.

1. సీ. పదచాలి వినిపించు వైభవస్ఫురణకు

కొమకొండ ముత్తేలకుచ్చు చెల్లు

జక్కిణివినిపించు చాతుర్యమహిమకు

రంజిల్లు వింజామరములు చెల్లు

తాళవిన్యాసభేదమున నాట్యానకు

దులలేని బిరుదు కాహళలుచెల్లు

అభినయం బానరించు నతిశయప్రౌఢికి

నిరతంబు ధవిణేమ్బురులుచెల్లు

అనుచు నేకోజిభూపాలు డనుదినంబు

మెచ్చి ముత్తేలకుచ్చు నీ కీచ్చు సభను

కవితగ్గుణపేటి యాశ్రిత కల్పవాటి

భావజానిఘోటి ముద్దు, మంగావధూటి.

3. *Narasabhōja nuti.*

This is an anonymous work in Telugu verse praising the great qualities of Dalavay Narasappa, the famous minister of Mangamma (1689—1706). From the extract given below it refers to the exploits of Narasappa who died in the battle of Marva in 1702.

(History of the Nayaks of Madura, page 213).

నీ. శ్రీరంగనాథుని చెన్నంద మదిలోన
 కోరి పూజలుచేసి మీఱినావు
 జంబునాథస్వామి సద్భక్తిసేవించి
 వరములుకొని కీర్తి(వరపి)నావు
 చెవ్వంది లింగనిచేరి సన్నుతు లీవు
 గావించి పుణ్యముల్ గాంచినావు
 ఎన్నికార్యములైన యీడేర్చి ప్రభులచే
 బహుమానములు చాల బడసినావు

గీ. పౌంధి వినయంబు సకలసంపదల బొదల
 పాండ్యరాజేంద్రు క్రికంట ప్రబలినావు
 భాను సమ తేజ దీక్షయ ప్రభుతనూజ
 వరగుణసమాజ దళవాయి నరసభోజ.

నీ. పౌజల కూలనేసిన నీదు...
 ఖండించు నీ ఖడ్గధారకు నిరతంబు
 తనరు...మత్తేభములగు
 ...నేమెఱుగు కేదెమునకు మేలుమేలు
 నీకు దీర్ఘాయు:

All the verses end with Dalavay Narasa Bhoja. Unprinted (A descriptive Catalogue of the Telugu manuscripts in Tanjore Library No. 382, page 138). Anonymous

4. *Bangaru Timmarāju Katha.*

This is a prose work, and purports to be a life of Bangaru Timmaraju, who appears to us in the last of the

Nayaka rule at Madura in the time of Minakshi before her death. (1732—1736). The name of Bangaru Timmaraju is mentioned often in the work.

(Ibid No. 680, page 283) authorship anonymous

5. *Pāṇḍyarāṅga Charitra*

This is a Panegyric poem regarding Madura Nayaks. The manuscript is in the Adyar Library 32-E. 31. This is also unprinted. It gives the traditional history of the Nayaks of Madura.

Extract from *Satyabhāmā Sāntvanamu*.

కం. లక్ష్మణలక్ష్మిత కమలా

నీక్షణ పుంఖానుపుంఖ విభవోన్మేషా

నుక్షణ తతివిప్రతియై

దక్షిణ మధురాపురంబు తనరు ధరిత్రన్.

మ. కర్ణాటరాజ్యేంద్రం

కనుసన్నన్ వరియించె ముద్దళరిత్మోజాని రంజిల్లుచున్

వ. ప్రతిదినకృత భారత భాగవత రామాయణ పారాయణుడు పంచ
తిరువళిరాజ సప్తాంగహరణుడు ఆరుహన్నిబ్బరగండడు
కనకవల్లకీవాదనుడు, కుంతూరిదుర్గనాయకుడు, దక్షిణసింహా
సనాధ్యక్షుండు, తిరుమల నృపాల కలశాంబోధిపూర్ణిమాశశాం
కుడు, ముద్దువీరనృపకల్పతరుతపఃఫలంబు, లింగాంబికాగర్భశక్తి
ముక్తాఫలంబు ముద్దళేఘురిభూపాలుండు.

From Introduction.

పాండ్యదేశాధ్యక్షౌ, అద్వైతమతాధారా, End of 1st Canto.

దక్షిణసింహాసనేంద్ర, చొక్కనాధనృపాలసోదర ,, 2nd ,,

Geneology of Madura Nayaks.

తే. గీ. రహిఁ జెలంగు

... ..

సారసంబు ముకుందాంధ్రీ సారసంబు.

తే, గీ. దాన నొకజాతి జనియించి తనర

... ..

నందు నుదయంబునందె

ధీప్రభోగప్రభుండు నాగప్రభుండు.

గ. ఆ నాగవిభుండు గంగా

స్నానముగావించి విశ్వనాథునికృప యెం

తేని తగ విశ్వనాథ

హృదనాథుని గాంచె వేడుకలు నలువొందన్,

ఉ. దెబ్బదిరెండురాజుల గడిందితనంబునఁగొట్టి పోరిలో

దెబ్బదిరెండుగెల్పులు వడిం గయికొంచు సమగ్రకీర్తిచే

నుబ్బుచు విశ్వనాథవసుధోత్పలబాంధవుఁ డొప్పు నారుహ

న్నిబ్బరగండడంచు తను నిద్ధర నందరు సన్నుతింపగన్.

శా. విద్యారణ్య తపోవిపాక విభవావిరూఢతసింహాసన

ప్రోద్ధృద్ధుఁడు భార్గవిన్ విజయలీలోన్నిద్ర భద్రార్చనా

హృద్వ్యక్రీయ నింటఁజేర్చుకరిణిన్ శ్రీవిశ్వనాథుండు వం

చద్యోగంబునఁ జెండె దత్తరుణ హెచ్చున్ శాశ్వతైశ్వర్యముల్.

క. ఆ విశ్వనాథనృపతిః

శ్రీవీరాజమకుఁ బెద్దకృష్ణనృపాలుం

డావిర్బవించెఁ ద్రిభువన

కోవిద సంస్కాయమానగుణమణిఖనియై

ఉ. ఆ పెద్దకృష్ణభూనరకులగ్రాణికిన్ జనియించె

పెద్దవీరధరణీపతి.

క. ఆ వీరవిభుఁ తిరుమల

దేవియు రమణీయవీలఁ దేలుచు విశ్వో

ద్వీవిభు, కుమారకృష్ణ

హృదవరు, కస్తూరిరంగజనపతిఁ గాంచెన్,

ఉ. విస్ఫురణావరుండు... షేషవీరనృపాలతనూభవ్రుండు.

తా. ఆ విస్ఫురణీతిపాలుండు.

ఉ. ఆ నరనాథుతమ్ముండు ... కుమారకృష్ణభూజాని చెలంగె.

ఉ. అలరు కుమారకృష్ణమహిపానుజుఁ డాహవసవ్యసాచి
కస్తురిరంగనృపాలుండు.

క. ఆ విస్ఫుభూపతివలన

నావిర్భావంబుఁ జెంది ...

... ముద్దుకృష్ణనరపతి వెలసెన్.

తే. గీ. విస్ఫువిభు ముద్దుకృష్ణభూవిభువరుండు.

చ. నలువుగ ముద్దుకృష్ణ నరనాథశిఖామణిగాంచె వేడ్కతో
నిలపయి చంద్రసూర్యు లుదయించియోయని లోకు లెన్న. ని
శ్చలగతి ముద్దువీరనృపచంద్రుని ... తిర్మలభూపురందరున్.

క. ఆ ముద్దువీరనరపతి

భూమండల మేలె.

తే. గీ. జనులందఱు నభినుతింప

తనరె ... శ్రీముద్దువీరశౌరి

చ. ఆ నరనాథుతమ్ముండు ... తిర్మలప్రభువ రేణ్యుండు.

తే. గీ. లండివగఁ జింజివజ్రలు బెండుపడిరి

వసుధఁ దిరుమలవిభుదాడివలన నోడి

కవిబుధవతంస వైణికగాయకోక్తి

తతనిజాస్థాని తిరుమలధరణిజాని.

క. అల శ్రీతిరుమలనాథుం

డలమేలమయందుఁ గాంచె ననఘుచిత్రో

జ్వల విభవసాంద్రకీర్తులు

వెలయంగ కుమారముద్దువీరన రేంద్రున్.

కం. క్షమవీరేంద్రుండు మీనా

క్షమ, నల లింగాంబ, నాజమాంభోజాత్మా

షీ మఱియు మధురగాయక
 నమలమతిం బెండ్లియాడె ననుపమలీలన్,
 సీ, తిరుమల మేదినీపరు ముద్దువీర ధ
 రాధినాథుండు మీనాక్షమూర్తి
 యంపల చొక్కనాథావనీపాలు లిం
 గాంబికయందు ముద్దళఘరీంద్రు
 నాజమాంబికయందు నచ్యుతేంద్రుని, చిన్న
 యచ్యుతు, మధురనాయక షుయందు
 నారసింహాక్షమానాథశిఖామణి
 నెనలేనివేడుకల్ హెచ్చిలంగఁ
 గాంచె నెంతయు కల్పదుపంచకంబు
 పాలమున్నటిచందాన

మ. వెలయుక్ ... వారల క్కగజుండు చొక్కనాథవరణీనాథుండు

శా. ఆ ధాత్రీరమణానుజం డఖలవిద్యాకాంతు డుద్యన్తహా
 మేధావంతుడు ... తగున్ ముద్దళఘరీంద్రుఁ డిలన్.

మ. లక్ష్మీసతీకలనన్ ముద్దళఘేండుకనున్ గార్హస్థ్యధర్మోన్నతుల్.

మ. రుక్మణీహరిణీలోచన నన్నెగాంచెను.

మ. ముద్దళఘరీరాజమాళి సతి మీనాక్షంబ.

ఉ. ఆ నృపచంద్రుతమ్ము డనిశాచ్చితనిశగళుండు అచ్చుతశౌరి

క. అను జన్ముఁ డచ్యుతున కిల

ఘనుఁడగు ముద్దచ్యుతమహాకాంతుడు

క. అచ్యుతేంద్రున కనుజుడు నారసింహజనపతి.

ఉ. అన్నలుఁ డమ్ము లీకరణి నందఱు నొద్దికయై యశోరమన్

చెన్నునహించి రాముక్పచే నుపచేళిమరాజ్యసంపద

భ్యున్నత భోగభాగ్యుఁడయి యుద్విని సర్వనృపాలకోటిలో

నెన్నికకెక్కె ముద్దళఘరీంద్రుఁడు దివ్యమహామహోన్నతిన్.

శా. జ్ఞానై యింపుగఁబల్కు- కుల్కు-నునుపుల్ జగ్గుల్ తగ న్నిత్యక
 భాణసుచ్చిరి నెసంగఁగా జతులుచూపొంది రానించఁగా
 నేణాక్షీతతి ముద్దులఘ్నిరి ధరిత్రీకుంఃసు లాలించి తా
 వీణావాద్యము నేర్పుమీటువగ నొ వింతం దనంతన్ రహిన్,

తే. గీ. ప్రాణిమెఱయంగ సాహిత్యరచనసేయు
 నెపుడు ముద్దళఘ్నిశౌరి రిపువిదారి

క. ఆంధ్రవచోనాథునకు బు
 రంధ్రీపాంచాలునకు, గరభృతాసిల గ
 త్యంధ్రపరిపంధిపార్థివ
 రంధ్రిత దినమణికి మతిఘరంధరభణికిన్,

KANNADA LITERATURE AS A SOURCE FOR VIJAYANAGAR HISTORY.

BY

RAJACHARITA VISARADA

RAO BAHADUR C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

While the value of Telugu and Sanskrit works is manifestly great as sources for the reconstruction of the history of the Vijayanagar Empire, there are many works in Kannada which help to fill in different gaps in it during the many stages it passed through. I have very briefly referred to many of these Kannada works in my account of Vijayanagar history included in the *Mysore Gazetteer* (New edition, Vol. II Part iii).¹ We have valuable light thrown on certain of the dark spots by these Kannada works, though only in an indirect manner. Their references are the more valuable because they are generally from Court poets who testify to what is known personally to them. A great deal of systematic work is still necessary in regard to these poets and their works before we can hope to use them. Until good printed editions of the works themselves are available for use, research for historical purposes is bound to be slow. Work awaits in this domain both to research scholars and research associations which are making the study of ancient literature in different parts of the country their hobby or duty. The duty of the University of Mysore is too obvious in this connection to need particular mention.

To illustrate point of view I am trying to emphasize, I may refer here to the Kannada poet Timmanna Kavi, who received considerable encouragement from Krishna Raya, the Vijayanagar Emperor.² The chief significance of this patronage consists in helping us to realise the wider cultural interest of Krishna Deva Raya himself. He was

1. See 1498, 1528, 1590, 1647, 1663, 1688, 1712, 1764, 1907, 1915 etc.

2 I have briefly referred to him in the Vijayanagar Volume (II. iii) of the *Mysore Gazetteer*, at Pp. 1915-1916.

not only interested in Sanskrit and Telugu literatures but also in Kannada; not only in the social and literary progress of the empire in one part but also throughout its length and breadth. Timmana wrote the latter half of the *Mahabharata* which had not been completed by the famous Kumara-Vyasa. He translated the seven *parvas* beginning from the *Santi Parva*. He was a Brahmin poet, of the Bharadwaja Gotra. He was the son of one, Bhaskara Kavi, otherwise known as Bhanu Kavi, who should have been a poet by himself, though his work, have not come down to us so far. There can be no doubt that he should have enjoyed high reputation at least as a scholar as he has been dubbed *Padavakya-Pramana*, Timmanna Kavi describes himself in his *gadya* as *Karnataka Kavikula Sarvabhauma* i. e. the Emperor of Karnataka poets. His *Bharata* is in the *Bhaminishatpadi* and consists of 40 *Sandhis* and 7 *Parvas* beginning from the *Santi* to the end. His work is sometimes known as Krishnaraja-Bharata, though it is styled in the *gadya* by the author himself as *Karnataka Krishna Rayara Bharata-Katha Manjari* which indicates both its nature and content. Timmanna Kavi says that he undertook the task of completing Kumara-Vyasa's *Bharata* at the command of King Krishna Deva Raya personally conveyed to him.³ How he came to shoulder it is thus narrated by him in his work: "Krishna Raya being seated in State on his throne (at Vijayanagara). having heard the story of the *Bharata*, turned to the assembled poet in the Court, beckoned to Timmanna, presenting him with ornaments and dresses, and honouring him in open Court, said "with ease, that (famous) Kumara Vyasa narrated in ten *Parvas* the *Bharata*. You narrate, to the delight of the world, the rest of the work: as the waves of Jumna blend with the waters of the divine river (Ganges) and (both) flow as one, let your (mellifluous work) become one with the music"

3. Rao Bahadur R. A. Narasimhachar in his *Karnataka Kavi Charite* (II 189) gives a short account of this poet. E. P. Rice in his *kanarese literature* (The Heritage of India series) has also a brief reference to him at Pp 78-79.

language of that elephant among poets, Kumara Vyasa; winning the approbation of all (other poets), you gifted poet, may the gentle, moving words of your delightful composition afford joy to us all." It would seem from this double encomium on Kumara Vyasa and Timmanna that Krishna Deva Raya was well versed in Kannada poetry and as much an appreciative student of Kumara-Vyasa's Kannada poetry as, for instance, of Allasani Peddana's in Telugu. Thus undertaking the great task, Timmanna rendered into Kannada the rest of the epic left over by Kumara-Vyasa and dedicated it to Krishna Deva Raya his patron. In the introductory part, he says of his work — "This Bharata has been narrated to render permanent the great fame of Krishna Raya, the son of King Narasa."

At the same time, the poet dedicates it, at the end of each *Sandhi*, not only to king Krishna Raya, but also to God Venkatesa, (of Tirupati) which should have pleased as much his Royal patron, as he was a great devotee of that far-famed deity.

It may be justly inferred from what has been stated above that Timmanna-Kavi assisted the king at his capital and was honoured there by him in a gracious manner and entrusted with the great work of completing Kumara-Vyasa's Bharata. King Krishna Deva Raya was an undoubted master of literary style, whether in Sanskrit, Telugu, or Kannada, and was conscious of what he was doing. Among the poets of the time in Kannada, he could not have made a better choice than Timmanna Kavi who writes with ease, grace and elegance. His descriptions are well done, the similies well turned and appropriate while the selection of topics for delineation for a *Maha Kavya* fulfil the exacting conditions laid down for it. Of the King's ancestors, we have a brief description in these words; Timma *noripa* of the Tuluva Vamsa. his son king Iswara; his son king Narsa. Of Narasa, we have this account:— "There is no principality over which he has not exercised

his sway; there is no charity or gift of any kind that he has not bestowed; there is no branch of learning that he has not made his own: there is no pleasure that he has not enjoyed; it is thus he wielded his dominion over the world: his queen was Nāgalambica, his son Krishna Raya who by the might of his own shoulders crowned himself King at Vizianagar and ruled as King over the whole of Karnataka". From the words quoted, it may be inferred that Timmana knew personally Narasa, the father of Krishna Raya.

A few verses may be set down below as illustrative of the poet's work. The following rule of Politics is enunciated in it:—

"The caretaker of a garden, with assiduity, cultivates it, and brings it to bear fruits; of the many fruits and flowers he has raised in it, he but plucks one, to oppress subjects by levying heavy taxes on them would be like felling many trees down to turn them into burning coals of fire; this, he said, would not be proper."

King Krishna Deva Raya's fame is thus described:—

"Siva wears the female garb; the lord of the snakes has sought dominion over the dark recesses of the nether world; when we think of it, why speak of the white Heaven? It has lost its native occupation of being milky white. Thus proclaiming the white (untarnished) moon of Narasaya Krishna Raya's fame, declares 'As for myself, I proudly last for ever'."

The prowess of Krishna Deva Raya is set down in these words:—

"Oh this Earth, would the increasing splendour of the Sun grow in brilliancy without dragging into itself everything it illuminates? Would you beat down the spreading might of the Fire God without adding to His might? The ever shining nature of the shoulders of the Narasaya Krishna Raya shot in brilliancy un-aided, in unbounded fashion."

This all too brief an account of Timmana and his work will I hope illustrate the value of Kannada literature as a source for the reconstruction of Vijayanagar History. During the first dynasty of kings, there flourished a long line of poets in that language. A closer examination of their works — closer than what they have so far obtained — is bound to prove useful for the historical elucidation of what is still a dark period of history. The very descriptions of the writers of the period should help us to realise the conditions of the times they wrote in: they could not possibly tear themselves away from them or from their environments. That is the cardinal point to be noted by the critical student of history. Kannada scholars with a bent for research should be induced — by affording research scholarships, studentships, etc., — to take to this important work. The Andhra and the Mysore Universities may combine their labours to their mutual benefit and the general advance of research in this behalf and hit upon a joint course of action.

KRISHNARAYA'S CONQUEST OF "CATUIR."

BY

RAJACHARITA VISARADA,
RAO BAHADUR C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

There is a well-known passage in the chronicle of Numiz which gives an account of Krishna Raya's conquest of "Catuir". It runs thus.¹ "After Crishnarao had made peace, and had married the daughter of the king of Oria, and had restored to him his wife and the lands beyond the river, as has been narrated above, he made ready a large army and prepared to attack Catuir, which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for 50 years; this land is on the Charmandal side. And he went against it, and laid siege to one of the principal cities where the lord of the land was; and it is called..... (left blank in the original M. S. of Numiz) and is surrounded with water.

"Now, at the time Crishnarao attacked this city it was winter, for which cause the river that surrounded it was so swollen, and carried down so much water, that the king could do no more harm to the place. And king Crishnarao, seeing this, and seeing that time was passing away without his attaining his desire, commanded his men to cut many new channels in order to be able to attack that principal (river) which had opposed itself to the fulfilment of his wishes. And this was done in a short time since he had many soldiers, and after the (new) water courses were finished and brought to where the water should go he opened mouths in the river, the water of which very soon flowed out so that the bottom could be seen, and it was left so shallow that it enabled him to reach the walls of the city, and the river was thus diverted into fifty different beds. Inside the city were one hundred thousand foot soldiers and three thousand

1. See Sewell, *Forgotten Empire* 1st Edn. 320-321 also 2nd Edn. 320-321.

cavalry, who defended themselves and fought very bravely, but this availed little to prevent Crishnarao from entering in a few days and slaughtering them. He found large treasures in this city, amongst others, in ready money, a million and six hundred thousand golden *pardaos*, besides, jewels and horses, which were numerous, and elephants. And after he had finished the capture of this land, Crishnarao divided it amongst many of his captains, giving to each one what was necessary for him; and the chief who lived in the city and who was lord of the land was taken away captive and carried to Bisanaga, where he died in the King's prison."

I have gone at some length into the question of the identification of "Catuir" in my history of Vijayanagar included in the revised *Mysore Gazetteer*² I have shown the grounds on which I hold that it cannot be "Cutlack" as suggested by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. Also that it cannot be "Vellore" as proposed by Mr. R. Sewell. Nor can it be Palaiyamkottai, near Viranam Tank in the South Arcot District. In 1935, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya proposed the identification of the place with "Kayattur, the capital of one of the branches of the Pandyan royal family."³ In his valuable remarks he says that the chief of the place is the same as the one referred to by Pedro de Barto as quoted by Queyros in his *Conquest of Ceylon*⁴ in this extract." The Lord of Tuticorin, the capital of the town of that coast, was a knight whom they called king of Cayatarro who was the lord of the other neighbouring towns besides Tuticorin" As Dr. N. Venkataramanayya points out Father Queyros alludes to the "petty kings of Caettaro". He, however, offers no hint as to the exact situation of the place 'Catuir', thus identified with "Cayetarro" or Ceetarro of De Basto and Queyros beyond the general description that it was in the Coromondal coast and not far away

2. See *Mysore Gazetteer* 1930. Edn. Vol. II, Part iii, pp. 1829-1831.

3. See *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Appendix A., 447-452.

4. See II 394 F.N.P.

probably from Tuticorin, the capital town of the coast, and also not far away from Quilon in the immediate neighbourhood. Dr. Venkataramanayya also suggests that the Lord of Catuir had at the time of Krishnaraya's conquest left his place-in fact fled from it - to one of his principal cities surrounded by a river and he identifies this city with Kayal, the famous sea port in this part of the country. Kayal has been in the hands of the king of Quilon from at least 1504 to 1514. By 1522 he had lost it. Dr. Venkataramanyya suggests it was taken probably by Krishnaraya between 1509 to 1529. He quotes in support the passage from Numiz where he states that "Catuir" was included in the Province of Salwa Nayaka who, he adds, was the lord of Charamaodel (Coromandel) and of Nagapatao (Negapatam) and Tamgor (Tanjore) and Bomgarum (Bhuvanagiri) and Dapatao (Devipatnam) and Trugull (Tirukoil) and Callim (Kayal) and all these are cities; their territories are all very large and they border on Ceylon." (The identifications are all Sewell's except Bomgarim which I identify with Bhuvanagiri near Chidambaram in the South Arcot District.⁵

The identification of 'Catuir' with Kayattar is thus suggested and its general situation on the Coromandal coast is set down as being not far away from Quilon, on the one side and Tuticorin and Kayal on the other, the probabilities being that it was nearer the latter places than Quilon. This may be accepted but we have still to identify the place, if possible, more definitely with a known and existent town on the map of South India in the neighbourhood of the region indicated on the Coromandel. My suggestion is that Numiz's "Catuir" identified as above with "Cayattaroo", 'Cayettaro' "Caetarro" or "Kayattar" is identical with the "Cayetar" in the present Tinnevely District, a town about 25 miles north of Tinnevely Town. In a passage in which Robert Orme author of "Indostan" describes the advance of Mohammed Yusif, the Commandant of the British Indian troops sent to take possession

5. See *Forgotten Empire* Pp. 384-385, F.N. 2.

of this part of the Country in 1755, we have two references to this place. It may be stated that when about 1743 the Maharattas retired from most of South India the so-called rule of the Nawab of Arcot over Tennevelly was nominal. All actual authority was in the hands of a number of independent Poligars who, on the fall of the Nayaks of Madura, had assumed full powers. They had forts in the hills and in the dense jungle with which the whole district was covered, maintained about 30,000 brave — though undisciplined — troops and were perpetually fighting with each other. A British expedition under Major Heren and Maphuj Khan in 1755 reduced Tinnevelly to some kind of order and the country was rented to Maphuj Khan. But he was unable to control the *poliyars* who formed themselves into a league for the conquest of Madura and advanced against him. They were, however, signally defeated at a battle fought 7 miles north of Tinnevelly. The utter failure of Maphuj's government induced the English authorities at Madras to send an expedition under Mohamed Yusuf, their sepoy commandant to help him. He passed from Trichinopoly to Pudukkottai and from there eastward of the Nallam Hills to Madura. Having placed a troop of sepoys in the fort there he proceeded to the fort of Srivilliputhur (spelt by Orme Chevelpetore") and then, we are told that Mohamed Yusuf "leaving a sufficient garrison to defend it in future, he proceeded across the Nadamundalam Country to Cayetar, a town about 25 miles north of Tinneveli, where Mahfuz Cawn was waiting for him with his victorious but inactive army".⁶ We are further told that "from Cayetar Mahfuz Cawn and Mohamed Issoof moved with the whole army to the woods of Etiaporum (modern Ettaiyapuram) which lies about 30 miles to the East of Cayetar". From Ettaiyapuram they crossed the country to Coilorepettih (Koilpathi?) a strong fort situated near the great road, from Coilorepettah (Koilpathi?) the whole army proceeded to Chevelpetore (Srivilliputtur) and encamped

6. See Robert Orme, *Indostan*, Madras Edn. Vol. I, page 424.

under this fort. The poligar of Calancandan which lies 13 miles North-east of Chevelpetor paying no regard to the usual summons, Muhammad Issoof marched and attacked his fort which was abandoned after a slight resistance".⁷ These passages show plainly that "Cayetar" was a town situated 25 miles north of Tinnevely town, that it was an important place enough even in 1757 to become the headquarters of Mafhus Khan; that it was not far away from Srivilliputtur which is about 25 miles from the Sattur Railway station on the South Indian Railway and that Ettaiyapuram was only about 30 miles to the east of Cayetar. Today the S. I. Railway connects these various places thus: from Madura to Sattur, (from which Srivilliputhur is but 24 miles to the South East and is more easily reached from Koilpathi) from there to Maniyachi, from Maniyachi to Tinnevely town. In between Tinnevely Town and Ettaiyapuram should be placed the Cayetar of Orme identified with the "Catuir" of Numiz and the Cayattar of De Bastos. If Kayal was the place to which the chief of Cayattar retired on Krishnaraya's invasion it must then have been a port still . . . It is at present in the Srivykuntam taluk near the sea, on the northern bank of the Tambraparni river. It was once a famous port. Marco Polo visited it in 1292 and called it a great and noble city. He noticed it at length⁸. Two Persian Historians give equally glowing accounts of it.⁹ Kayal displaced Kolkai, 12 miles East of Srivykuntham traditionally the earliest seat of Dravidian civilisation and later the capital of the Pandyan line of kings. It is mentioned by the author of the *Periplus* (A.D. 80) as a celebrated place for pearl fishing and is also referred to by Ptolemy (A.D. 130).¹⁰ The deposit of silt of the Tambraparni on the shore in front has ruined both Kayal and Kolkai as ports having been turned into inland villages. Kolkai is now 5 miles inland. Srivykuntam is on the left bank of

7. Ibid I. Pp. 424-425.

8. See Col. Yules' translation II. 305.

9. Quoted by Yule *Ibid*.

10. See Caldwell, *History of Tinnevely* for further interesting particulars.

the Tambraparni about 18 miles below Tinnevely town. This would make it about 43 miles distant via Tinnevely to Cayattar.

It will be seen that Numiz in his account of the conquest of "Catuir", says that he took it after a strenuous fight in which 100,000 foot soldiers and three thousand cavalry of the enemy were put to the sword, the city in which the chief had entrenched himself, and that he took the large treasures he found in it. And then Numiz adds, "differentiating the capture of this "city" from the "country" of which it formed a chief town: "But after he had finished the capture of *this land* (the whole area subordinate to the rebel chief whom he had after 50 years of rebellion, subdued), Krishnarao divided it amongst many of his captains, giving to each one what was necessary for him, and the Chief who lived in the city and who was the lord of the land was taken away captive and carried to Bisnaga, where he died in the king's prison."¹¹

Evidently, Krishna Deva Raya seems to have undertaken a complete displacement of the population of the country with Telugu immigrants with their dependents in the "Caitur" Chief's principality with his removal to a prison at Vizianagar. This seems confirmed by the nature of the present population in this part of the Tinnevely District. In the Ettaiyapuram Estate, of which Ettaiyapuram itself is the chief town about 30 miles from Cayettar according to Orme — the principal castes are all Telugu by race.¹² The ancestor of the present Zamindar of Ettaiyapuram — according to family tradition — came originally from Chandragiri, which evidently stands

11. *Forgotten Empire*, Pp. 321—322.

12. The Ettaiyapuram Estate consists of 374 villages with a population of over 2 lakhs, occupying an area of nearly 570 sq. miles. Similarly in Srivilliputtur town, 24 miles from Sattur Railway Station, there is a large Telugu Colony, including Andhra Vaishnava Brahmins, also at Rajapalaiyam, 8 miles from Srivilliputtur town we have a large resident population of Telugu speaking Razus who say they originally came from Vijayanagar.

for the capital of Vijayanagar kingdom. Tradition adds that Kumaramuttu of this family was sent down to quell disturbances in Tinnavelly and that accordingly he proceeded to Sattur — on the present S. I. Railway, — not far away to the north of Ettaiyapuram, — and built a fort there, the remains of which can be seen at the present day on the south bank of the Sattur river. Ettaiyapuram itself is said to have been founded in 1567 and seems evidently to have eclipsed “Caitur” of Krishna Deva Raya’s time. Muthu Jaga Vira Rama Nayak, the thirty first Zamindar of Ettaiyapuram, had a standing army of 6000 men and rendered valuable help to the British Government during the Poligar Wars of 1799-1801, and received in recognition of his service, four out of the six divisions into which the forfeited estates of the vanquished poligars were divided. The estate consists mainly of black cotton soil, half the cotton grown in Tinnevely district coming from this estate.

It may be now taken as probable that Numiz’s “Catuir” is identical with “Cayetur” of Orme and with “Cayetsar” of De Basto; that it was situated about 25 miles to the north of Tinnavelly town; and that as the result of its conquest, Krishna Raya colonized the country, round about the place he took, with Telugu chief and inhabitants who still dominate the population here speaking the Telugu language and carrying the Telugu traditions.

Old Kayathar †

There are clear traces of habitations in the immediate neighbourhood of Kayathar which suggests that the original village of Kayathar was on the north of the present village. There are remnants of a mud fort about 2 furlongs square. The mud walls in the south and east exist in a mutilated state. There is a mound of earth 30 feet high within the enclosure. There are also remnants of a Perumal temple west of the fort with its ruined tower.

† Copy of L. Dis 4773/45 of Kolipati Tahsildar’s Report dated 12-6-45.

When and by whom the fortress was constructed is not definitely known. Local tradition ascribes it to a king named Vittuperumal Raja who is said to have had his head-quarters at Kayathar about 1547 A.D. Kayathar is also remembered as the place where Kattabommy Naicker, the rebel Polegar of Panchalankurichi, was executed in 1779. The memory of this even is kept alive in a peculiar manner. The site of execution is on the western side of the road from Tinnevely to Madura about 6 furlongs north of Kayathar. On this site there is now a great pile of stones of all sizes which represents the accumulated offering by wayfarers of the past 100 years and more for the repose of the soul of Kattabommu Naicker. Even to-day those who pass the spot contribute a handful of small stones and go on their way comforted. During the War with the Poligars, Kayathar was used as a Military centre and troops are said to have been stationed there. The site of the cantonment is said to be the penground immediately to the south of the Traveller's bungalow. The cantonment was given up in 1798 and the garrison was removed from the place and concentrated at Palamcottah.

JAINISM AND PENUKONDA JAIN TEMPLES.

Vardhamana or Jnatiputra, better known as Mahavira was born at Vaisali about 599 B. C. in a family belonging to the Jnata section of Kshatriy caste. He was later the founder of the Jain religion which made its appearance, a little before Buddhism and Buddha was born only about 557 B.C. The word Jain is from Jina meaning conqueror of self and desire. Mahavira lived to a good old age of 72 and died about 527 B.C. His disciples were called Nirgranthas i.e. without bonds and subsequently their followers went by the name of Jains. About 80 A.D. they were divided into Svetambaras, the white garmented and the Digambaras, the sky clothed, the latter having no clothing at all. The strictly religious orthodox followers who took perpetual vows were named Yatis (ascetics) and the laymen born in the religion went by the name of Sravakas. The Jains worship their deified saints called Tirthankaras as they are said to form a bridge over the river of soul transmigration to the yonder spiritual life of blessedness. The Moral code of the Jains is called Mahabrakas or great duties. They insist on the observance of truth, honesty, chastity and freedom from worldly desires leading to liberality, gentleness, piety and penance. The control of the tongue, the mind and the person was insisted on rigidly. The Jains attach too much importance to the preservation of all kinds of life. Like the Buddhists they deny that God created this world or that He has any variety of control over it. But the Jains differ in rejecting Nirvana (release from the chain of births) and in body mortification. The Jain is enjoined to give up all the joys of the senses.

Among the most sacred places of Jainism are the Satrunjya Hill in the Palitana State; Kathiawar; the Dilwara Temples on Mount Abu, and the mountain called Parasanath in Bengal. In the reign of Chola Raja Raja, the Cholas swept over the Western Chalukya country under Someswara I and destroyed a number of Jain temples at Paligra or Lakshmanesari. In 1905, near Benares at Saranath was excavated a small votive, Jain shrine. The temple at Belur was built by the Jain King Vishnu

Vardhana in 1117 A.D. to God Vijayanarayan after the king was converted to Vaishnavism by Ramanujacharya. At Karkala 25 miles north of Mangalore is the well known monolithic Jain Statue 41½ feet high of Bahubalin, the first Thirthankara, erected according to an inscription in 1432 A.D. There is a Swasthika mark also here. There are two other great monolithic Jain Statues at Srawana Belgola in Mysore of Sri Gomateswara over 60 feet high, built in 983 A.D. and at Vennur in South Canara, the last being 35 feet high. Hari Hara II endowed some Jain temples as may be seen from the inscriptions, in the Dwajastambham at Vijayanagar. In the Ananthapur District we have about 300 Jains and nearly 200 of these are to be found in Madakasira taluk at Agali and Ratnagiri specially. In this district we have Jain antiquities at Amarapuram, Gooty, Kambaduru and Konakondala and regular Jain temples at Agali. Penukonda and Ratnagiri.

At Amarapuram in Madakasira Taluq there is a new Jain temple in which there is an old stone bearing a standing nude figure and an inscription in old Canarese. This stone was there even before the present temple was built and is said to be worshipped by the local Jains. A mile to the north in the Anjaneya temple of *Tammadehalli* is a somewhat similar stone surmounted by two nude figures, probably of Jain origin and also bearing an inscription.

At Gooty the interior of the little shrine at the foot of the citadel rock has a Jain flavour and among the slabs of stone which have been used to pave the path to the top of the citadel is more than one with Jain ornament cut upon it.

At Kambadur in Kalyandrug Taluq there are three temples of interest and in each of them the architecture has traces of Jain influence. The Chola temple in this village contains more Jain features than the shrines which are found in the Western taluks of Bellary. This Chola temple is built partly of granite and partly of black stone but most of the sculptures are in black stone only. The series of panels on the parapet surrounding the

mantapam in front of the shrine are Jain in their characteristics but are interspersed with Saivite figures. The temple is in use now as a Shiva shrine.

Next at Konakondala in Gooty taluk we meet with plenty of traces of the former existence of Jainism and evidently this place should have been a big centre of Jainism. Near the Adi Chennakesava Temple, is a stone slab placed upright in the ground, on which there are traces of an inscription. Above this is sculptured a Jain Thirthankara sitting in the usual crosslegged pattern. On the back of this stone, is a later Telugu inscription cut the other way up. Again on the top of a small rocky knoll just south of the village is a slab on which is cut a standing Jain figure about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. It is nude and so must be the work of a Digambarite, its hands hang down by its sides and it has the usual distended ear lobes. On each side there are figures bearing Chamaras (horse tail fly-shifter). Close by, among a number of sculptured stones, which all seem to have once belonged to a temple is an inscription on a slab of green coloured stone. Its top is chopped off but it was apparently headed by a Jain figure, the crossed legs being still visible. On another rocky eminence to the Northern end of the village are two more slabs on which are cut two more nude, standing Jain images about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and similar to the other already noticed. Above the head of each is the usual triple crown and on each side is a figure bearing a Chamara. It is curious to note that the villagers have built a mud wall around these, smeared them with black paint and adorned them with saivite marks. A few feet west, on a horizontal piece of sheet rock is cut in deep outline yet another Jain figure. This is over 8 feet in length and is nude and stands erect like the others. Close by it, are sculptured on the rock the prints of two feet within an ornamental border and an elaborate circular design about 2 feet across and ornamented in an unusual manner with odd zig zag lines and little circles. Below the rock, near a small tank is a pointed upright stone, some 10 feet high, which is headed on one side with a quaint inscribed

design and half way up the same side of which, within two enclosing lines, are cut some quite unusual signs or letters covering on the stone 2 feet square. There are likely to be other traces of these Jains in this village

At *Agali* in Madakasira Taluk, there is an old Jain temple on which is sculptured a nude image of one of the tirthankaras and at Ratnagiri in the same taluk, there is an old Jain Temple.

At *Penukonda* there are two Jain temples, one near the Post office on the road-side called 1. (*Mattada Basti*) facing east and the other near the Pomegranate gardens to the east of the town called 2. (*Aptanada Basti*) originally facing east but now the main entrance is facing north.

Jain Temple No. 1 at Penukonda Mattada Basti. As we enter this temple by the western entrance, we find a pial to our left dressed in stone and to the right heaps of stone and brick and mortar. There lies to the West, at the outskirts, inside the main compound, the Pujari's house, one of the lower windows of the adjoining store room is of stone $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 3 feet apparently a part of the temple. Just in front of this store room there is a stone pestle and mortar for grinding herbs, about 2 feet square. Adjoining the temple is a draw well of ancient construction with an opening $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet square only. To the south of this well there is a small entrance about 2 feet by 1 foot which leads to *Nelamalige*, a dark underground chamber about 10 feet by 13 feet which is said to have been originally constructed as a place of safety for hiding the temple idols, properties, and jewels in times of danger. This temple faces south and Jain architecture is discernable in every piece of work. The outside is very modest and without any decoration. At the southern entrance in front of the temple is the *Manasthamba* with ornamentation. On the stones in front of it, there is a *Tirthankara* with ear lobes, in standing posture with devotees and another with the carving of master and disciple with a book in between them. Above this, on another stone is carved *Parsva Tirthankar* with cobra hood over his head and a moon at either corner. In front of this on another stone is a *swastik* mark, the symbol of Jains. Embossed copper

plate has been in recent times screwed on to the main entrance. One of the western pillars is not symmetrical with the rest giving scope to the idea that the extension is of recent construction. Three well carved pillars with capital and base about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet square have been thrown flat south of the Nelamalige well and on the pillars, florals, figures and designs are all carved on all sides, two of the outstanding carvings being a lady riding on a fish and Mahankali with four hands. On the erect stone near the well, there are two Kanarese inscriptions, one is the figure of a Guru teaching his disciple and above the God worshipped by two devotees male and female with Chamaras. The following is the text of the inscriptions which are however not very distinct. మహానకల విద్వజ్ఞన చక్రవర్తిగళు బిరుదావళి విజయమాన్య శ్రీమథిల్లీ కొల్హాపుర, జనకంచి పెనుగొండె చతుస్థి సింహాసనరాద లక్ష్మీసేన భట్టారక పట్టాచారి స్వామియవరిగె.

It is said from the above wording in Kanarese that there are four important seats for Jains, Delhi, Kolhapur, Kanchi and Penukonda and that the seat at Penukonda was given over to Lakshmi Sena Bhattaraka Pattachari Swami, apparently referring to disciple of the founder

It is said in the Jeevendra Charitra that there existed at Penukonda seven Jain Temples and that it was in the Santhinatha Jain Temple that the Jeevendra Charitra was written, (ఆళియ పెనుగొండెయలి శాంతినాథనమందిర దల్లి జీవేంద్ర చరిత్ర దనుమాడి)

This temples is not now traceable at Penukonda.

The eastern entrance was originally supposed to be the main entrance to this temple and it is at present kept permanently closed. Dwarpalakas at each side of this entrance are sunk nearly to the waist, the road having been raised by atleast 4 feet. Inside the temple on the western corridor (surmounted by Gopurams, on the four sides of which, are Pārsva Tirthankaras) is Pārsva Tirthankar with ear lobes in standing posture made of black stone 4 to 5 feet high. In the central Kalyanamantapa there

are 5 marble Tirthankaras in sitting posture three of them being those of Nevinathaswami (2 feet high, each), Chandranathaswami and Parsva Tirthankara, the other two being unidentified for want of sufficient identifying symbols. The symbol of each of the Tirthankaras is said to be marked on the pedestal of the idol itself that it is by this symbol that one can make out the particular Tirthankar. In the pigeon holes on either side there are eight such idols. There are besides other Tirthankaras, about twelve, all of smaller size carved out of white marble or black stone.

Ashtamangala Dravya relating to Puja equipment are all kept arranged in a row, each about two feet high. In the centre under the *Prabhavali* is Mahaviraswami, the last of the Tirthankaras standing about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and believed to be the founder of Jainism. There is another Tirthankara without *Prabhavali* standing to the east carved out of green stone.

In the central Sanctum, standing is the idol of Parsvanathaswami with *Prabhavali*, cut out of green stone and it is said that this idol has been brought from Hampi. One noticeable feature is that no Tirthankar puts on any jewels. There are two paper pictures hung in this temple:—one of Pavapuriji indicating the salvation ground (*Moksha Bhoomi*) of Mahavira and the other of Chandra Meghanorinhe Mahamum, a great Jain Saint.

To the east is Padmavati, made of soapstone about 3 feet high in a seated posture. In the western corridor is Padmavati in Cheena Stucco-work and beautifully with gloss painted over. The Mantapam in the corridor is surrounded by *Parivara* devotees (six small gods). *Brahmayaksha Deva*, seated on a horse is to the east and is painted with red ochre with glass. To the east of this there is still another idol of Parsvanathaswami in stone about 5 feet high. On the western wall is Dharanindraswami, Yaksha of Parsvanathaswami. On the inner side of the eastern wall are to be seen four naked Tirthankaras, each about four feet high. In the southern wall there are four such shrines coloured over and varnished with yellow paint.

The present Pujaris of the temple, father, mother, son and daughter, in all four individuals, talk Tamil and have come down to Penukonda from Vellore. The previous Pujaris had been from Goribidnur.

Jain Temple No. 2 Aptanadu Basti : This temple is situated to the east of the town amidst pomegranate gardens in a solitary place. Outside the entrance there are two rooms to the East and one to the West. Inside the entrance we find two dwarapalakas with raised pials on both sides, covering the figures up to the ankles. The pials are of recent construction. In front of the temple grouped in the open yard are five pieces of stones arranged one over the other. On one of them is carved seated Brahma with hanging ear lobes. On the southern side is the carving of crowned Kinnara looking Heavenwards with Veena in his hands, the lower portion of the body resembling a lion with tail. To the east is carved God Subrahmanya riding a peacock. On the South East corner stone, on the eastern face is carved a chakra and the southern face contains the figure of Hanuman. The pillar is surmounted by a stone on which is carved a cobra, the hood of which has been chopped off. There are traces to show that previously this temple was an ordinary Hindu Temple, subsequently transformed and adopted into a Jain Temple. On the southwest corner stone facing south is Kshethrapalaka Brahma Deva crowned and with four hands riding on a horse. On the western face are carved two devotees. To the West is a Thirthankara and at the bottom only the head is visible. There is another Bhakta in Padmasana on another stone.

In the open yard near the well, there are two rooms to the east and one to the west for cooking purposes in the Prakara. The entrance to the temple proper begins with two stone elephants each about 4 feet high. There are only 4 pillars on the temple platform and on them are carved geometrical figures on all sides, the central two pillars contain yali carved on the northern face surmounted by Tirthankaras in standing and sitting postures. On the terrace which is of brick and chunam construction, there are several small pillars and three

stucco sculptures could be seen, the central one being that of Ajitanathaswami (naked) and to the east is Padmavati Devi and to the West we have the figure of Saraswati. There is a drawwell wholly carved out in stone and to south there is Picotah arrangement for taking water to the pomegranate garden attached to the temple. On the eastern side is the main entrance which has been since blocked up. There is a big Mantapam before this entrance. On all the pillars in the mantapam we have Yalia on all the four sides and tirthankaras in standing and sitting postures carved on it. The outer sides of the stone parapet to the steps are beautifully carved with figures of lions. The whole of the temple outer walls is built of finely dressed stones. Brick and chunam concrete is used for the compound of the pomegranate garden and these have been taken from the remains of the dilapidated Iswara Temple nearby. The southern foundation wall stones are getting dislodged from their places. In the southwest corner, under the Devakanchana (a flower tree which blossoms only during the rainy season) there are several Naga Stones, two footmarks cut in stone, two carved stones on one of which is Indra riding an elephant with two servants, one in front and the other behind, waving chamaras and on the other Brahma Yeksha riding on a horse with two seated Kinnaras playing on the veena. The Pujaris for this second temple are the same as those of the first temple. In the prakaram are some Parijata trees also.

Into the temple Sanctum one should not enter without a full bath. We have peacocktailed Kinnaras with Tirthankaras. The central Kalasa-bhisheka Mantapam consists of four pillars on each side and white marble Thirthankaras are kept in the Mantapam. There is also a seated Thirthankara cut in rectangular black stone, surmounted by a big brass prabhavali. In a small Mandahasa close by there is Jwala Malini of brass which is said to be an ancient one and on a small Mandahasa is seated Padmavati. The Ashtamangala Dravya and Puja utensils are kept in a row in the Kalyana Mantapa, and all of them are of brass, each about a foot high. They are as follows:— 1. ཡེ་ཤེས་པའི་མཚན་པོ་, 2. ཐཱ་ཤཱ་,

3. కలసా, 4. ధ్వజ, 5. సంప్రతిష్ఠా, 6. శ్వేతాద, 7. ఛత్ర, 8. వరతర్పణ-చామరాసి. i. e, 1. Chambu with 8 point 2. Cymbal 3. Kalasa 4. flag 5. Vessel 6. Mohalla 7. Umbrella Square plate and 8 fan. To the west on the rear is Parsa Tirthankara, a black stone idol surmounted with a brass Prabhavali and to the east on the rear is the idol of Saraswatidevi surmounted by another brass prabhavali. The idol is called Ratnagiri Saraswati Amma-varu as the idol was brought straight from Ratnagiri of Madakasira Taluk. The chief God in the inner Sanctum is Agitanathaswami standing, 4 to 5 feet high surmounted by Prabhavali.

BY

S. CHANDRA SEKHAR

FRESCO PAINTINGS OF THE LEPAKSHI TEMPLE

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The frescoes on the ceilings of the Virabhadra Temple of Lepakshi (Anantapur District in Andhra, South India) represent a different school of paintings to that we see at Ajanta. The frescoes of the cave temples of Ajanta depict mainly Buddhist mythology (*Jataka*) and the life of Buddha in an art that is purely classical, whereas the Lepakshi frescoes depict popular stories, mainly related to Lord Shiva. They emphasise local tradition, local customs and the local flora and fauna. They give us definite date for the 16th century folk-paintings of local traditional art. In my estimation, the frescoes on the ceiling of the inner shrine may be of earlier date, 14th to 15th century.

The most interesting features of these frescoes are:

(1) All the figures have protruding eyes, and particularly the earlier figures, with elongated eyelines drawn upto the ear, similar to the paintings we see in the later Gujarati manuscripts, especially of the Jain cult.

(2) Occasionally the intermediate figures are drawn iconographically in the style of Nepalese and Pala manuscripts illustrating deities of Tantric Buddhism.

(3) Some of the painted decorations resemble the cave decorations of Ajanta, and the figures bear the influence of 10th century bronze sculptures of the south.

Considering these points, it can be assumed that the local artists who had an earlier experience of classical South Indian tradition of painting bowed to the inevitable local circumstances and produced the type of folk-art which led the way to the later Gujarati-Jain convention, as well as the domination of the Iconography of Northern India. The copper-plates recently discovered from the floor of the temple show convincing evidence on this point as these copper-plates are engraved in Nagari script but in the language of the locality, and thus record such intercourses between the North and the South.

Another point to be considered here is that the three famous Telugu folk-paintings we see in the picture gallery of the Madras Museum which probably came from the Cuddapah district do not correspond in style or

in method of execution with the Lepakshi frescoes, though they belong to a later period than these frescoes. Telugu paintings of the Museum do not show any Tantric or later Jain convention at all. Nor do we notice in them any influence of the classical tradition. On the other hand, at Lepakshi we see an eclecticism of different traditions of painting, which raises many problems for the student of the history of Indian paintings to solve.

While that is the case with the frescoes, the architecture and the sculptures at Lepakshi are in no way puzzling, as they can be detected and classified more correctly to the different periods and schools of India. The temple itself had its root in the remote past, which is evident from some pillars and door-lintels, the symbols of miniature votive *stupas*, eschewing any figurative art. In this respect the earliest Lepakshi sculptures are allied to earlier Jain and Buddhist religious art. The conversion of this original Jain or Buddhist temple into a Saivite temple and the construction and re-construction of further structures, have given us exquisite bas-reliefs of medieval times, which can be taken as the best specimens of our art. The dancing Shiva, Mahisha-Mardani, and other dancing male and female deities in the inner temple and particularly the "Shiva-Annapurna" at the Mandapa, can be paralleled with Mahabalipuram and the Ellora sculptures, and some of them are really superior in beauty and perfection. The huge rock-cut figures like the Bull (Nandi), the Serpant-God and Vigneswara are unique in the whole of India in respect of their simplicity and dignity.

We also see some sculptures of the Vijayanagara period which are not so good as those at Hampi and other places of that age. But it is interesting to note that the sculptures of any period, old or new, of this temple do not correspond in style or technique with the fresco-paintings of the temple. Here is a unique example of artistic tradition of painting that might help us to understand more clearly the folk-art of South India and its contribution to Northern Indian paintings of a later age.

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with thanks.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF VIZIANAGARA

by Sri R. Subba Rao, M. A. L. T., M. E. S. (Retd)

Chief Sources for Vizianagara History :

1. *Inscriptions* written on stones and copper-plates, in Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese, and Sanskrit and published in Ep. Reports, S. I. Inscr., Ep. Indica & other Journals.
2. *Archaeological* Remains as a result of excavations made at Hampi, Sravana Belgola, Etc.
3. *Coins* in Silver, Gold, Copper, etc.
4. Literatures in Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese and Sanskrit
 - (A) *Indigenous writings*, such as Poems, Histories, Kaifiyets, and Dramas in all South Indian languages
 - (B) *Foreign writings* of Moslems, Portuguese, Italians, English, Etc. The writings of Nuniz, Paes, Nicolo, Abdur Razack are particularly important. Letters and works of Jesuit Missonaries—Dutch, French, Portuguese, and English—are particularly valuable. Travels of Ibn Battuta, Albert Mendelslo Duart Barbosa, Pitro Delavalle as well as Histories written by Ferishta, John Bros, H. M. Elliot and others, as well as Works by Robert Sewell, Dr. S. K. Ayyangar, Father Herras, and others are also important.

Origin of Vizianagar empire : In 1336 A. D. all South India was united as a "Hindu Bulwark" against Mahammadan conquest, by two brothers Hari Hara and Bukka. Prior to 1336, South India was divided among the (1) Pandiyans of Madhura, (2) Cholas of Tanjore, (3) Hoysalas of Dvara Samudra, (4) Kakatiyas of Warrangal, and (5) Yadavas of Devagiri. Owing to the persistent invasions of the Muhammedans in the 13th and 14 centuries, the Hindus Kingdoms were shattered to pieces. Malik Kafur invaded South India in 1306 and caused the

ruin of the several Hindu kingdoms. In 1293, Allauddian Khilji captured Devagiri and the second conquest was made in 1306. In 1309 Malik Kafur captured Warrangl and in 1310 Dvara Samudra, the Capital of Hoysala Ballalas, and soon after, the East coast upto Rameswaram was devastated. In 1318 Mubarak of Delhi took Deogiri and killed the king Haripala Deva. In 1323 Warrangal was finally taken, and Pratapa Rudra was taken as prisoner to Delhi. By 1330, the Mahammadans who firmly established their rule in the whole of North India threatened to do the same even in South India. Already by the frequent attacks of the Mahummadan forces, the old Hindu dynasties were shaken to the foundations. The accession of Muhammad Been Tughlak in 1325 and his invasion of South India caused terror in the minds of the Hindus. Hindu provinces were devastated and the Hindu dynasties destroyed. The religion, the temples, and the cities of the Hindus were about to perish and hence to check this foreign invasion and devastation, the Hindu States of Warrangal, Dvara Samudra, and Anegonde combined and of these, the principality of Anagonde soon developed into the great Empire of the Vizianagaram to which all the Nations of the South submitted. Anagonde was a fortified town protected by hills on one side, and the River Tungabhadra on the other side. The chiefs of Anegonde were probably the feudatories of the Hoysala Ballalas. According to Ferishtah, the chiefs of Anegonda existed as a ruling family since the middle of the 7th century A. D. The accounts of Nuniz etc. tell us that in 1336 Muhhammad Been Tughlak's troops took the town of Anegonda and, tried to rule the country, but in vain. So Muhammad Been Tughlak appointed Deva Raya or Hari Hara Deva Raya as his deputy and he seems to have founded the city of Vizianagaram on the south bank of the River Tungabhadra and opposite to Anegonde in 1336 A. D.

Among the scholars there is a difference of opinion as to whether the early founders of the Vizianagaram

empire were the feudatories of Hoysala Ballalas of Devara Samudra or of the Kakatiyas of Warrangal. It should be correct to hold as Nuniz already held that Hari Hara and his brothers already were employed as ministers under the Anegonde chiefs and they all remained tributary to the Hoysalas. It is held that the city of Vizianagaram was founded with the help of these chiefs and they all remained tributary to the Hoysalas. It is held also that the city of Vizianagaram was founded with the help of the Great Religious Teacher, Vidyathirtha of Sringeri Mutt. After Hari Hara Deva's death in 1354, his brother Bukka Raya succeeded and ruled for 25 years and then his son Hari Hara Deva II succeeded and ruled. During the reigns of the first two kings, the empire extended to the extreme south of India. According to Ibn Batuta, who was in India from 1333 to 1347 the Moslem chief of the west coast paid tribute to Hari Hara I. The other states of South India also paid tribute to Vizianagaram. At the same time, Civil War amongst the Muhammadans helped the first two kings to expand their kingdom into the great South Indian Peninsula. Owing to Muhammad Tughlak's tyranny the Dekkan revolted in 1347 and the Bhamini Kingdom was independently established. Hence, the Vizianagaram kingdom also could expand fearlessly from the River Kistna to Cape Comorin, and from E. coast to W. coast. Since an inscription of Hari Hara I in 1340 was discovered and since Tughlak's southern campaign took place in 1334 it may be that about 1336 the city of Vizianagaram was founded. The capture of Anegonde in 1334 by Tughlak, the failure of his dynasty to hold the place firmly and the appointment of Devaraya the former minister of Anegonde as the new Deputy and finally his founding the city of Vizianagaram would all make us believe that about 1336 alone the rule of Hari Hara I would have started. He ruled in all for 18 years (1336 to 1354) and his brother ruled from 1354 to 1379 i. e. 25 years. The two brothers Hari Hara and Bukka not only improved the city but built the temple of Virupaksha now standing in Hampi in honour of the great sage Vidyāraṇya.

abandoned his hold. He divided his empire into several provinces over which he placed trust-worthy viceroys.

After his death in 1354, his brother Bukka I completed his work. He fought against Allauddin, Muhammed Shah, and Mujahid of the Bhamini Kingdom and defeated them. In the reign of Muhammed Shah it was discovered that the gold and silver coins of the Bhamini Sultans were melted down by the Hindus of Vizianagaram and several merchants were killed. At the same time Bukka I demanded the restoration of certain territories and so Muhammed Shah waged War and retired only after plundering the country upto the capital and after receiving a large bribe from Bukka I. About the same time, Muhammed Shah attacked Warrangal and put to death its prince. However Warrangal was not annexed to the Bhamini Kingdom till 1424. In 1366, Sultan Mahammed again fought against Vizianagaram. The cause of the War originated in an after-dinner jest. The Sultan was entertained by a band of musicians to whom a cheque was issued on the treasury of Vizianagaram. Bukka punished the messenger who brought the cheque and prepared for War. He marched to Mudkal, an important city in the Raichur Doab and took it and killed all its Muhammeden people. This news enraged the Sultan who crossed the River Kistna with 9000 horse, captured the camp of the king and defeated him. He then marched against Adoni with a train of artillery, crossed the Tungabhadra and attacked Anegonde. A battle then ensued in which Muhammad finally gained victory. He then besieged Vizianagaram itself but failed to take it. He therefore pretended a retreat and when Bukka's troops marched forward they were defeated and killed. Bukka then tried to make peace by offering to pay the amount due to the musicians. Thus ended ingloriously the War.

Muhammad was succeeded by his son Mujahid in 1373. He wrote to Bukka to make the River Tungabhadra his

limit and to give up into his hands all the country lying to the east of it. Bukka replied that the Sultan should give up the whole of the Raichur Doab and to declare the River Kistna to be the boundary. The Sultan therefore declared War, crossed the Rivers Kistna and Tungabhadra and arrived before Adoni. Bukka, instead of attacking the Sultan first fled to Sandur and finally took refuge in Vizianagaram. Mujahid therefore besieged the capital but in vain. He retreated to Adoni and finally to his own territory. Shortly after he was killed in 1378. And his death enabled Bukkaraya to advance as far as Kistna and try to take the Fort of Raichur. Muhammad II, the new Bhamini ruler came to terms with Bukka by which the 'Status Quo' was maintained. Till the death of Muhammad II in 1397 there was no war between the Bhamini and the Vizianagaram Kingdoms. In 1379 Bukka was succeeded by his son Hari Hara II. He ruled from 1379 to 1404. He was the first to take up the title 'Maharajadhiraja'. He was therefore able to extend his territories as far as Trichy in South India. He defeated the Keralas, Tulavas, Andhras and the Karnatas. He was succeeded by Bukka II and he by Deva Raya I 1406—22.

Deva Raya I invaded the Muhammadan territories between the Rivers Tungabhadra and Kistna with a view to reduce the forts of Mudkal and Raichur. But he was defeated by Sultan Feroz Shah who forced him to give his daughter in marriage to him. Deva Raya II was also defeated by Ahmad Shah who is reported to have killed 30,000 Hindus. He tried to strengthen his army by enlisting Muslem horsemen but all the same he was finally defeated and forced to pay tribute in 1443 by Allauddin. The Italian traveller Nicolo De Conti who visited Vizianagaram in 1420 says that the capital was 16 miles in extent and the army numbered one lakh.

The King was more powerful than all the other kings of India. Abdul Razak who visited the city in 1442 says

that the city was large and populous, the country was well cultivated and fertile; there were 300 sea-ports and extensive commerce existed with foreign countries, the army consisted of 11 lakhs of men and 1000 elephants, and the city was protected by 7 fortified walls and its wealth was so great that jewellers sold their rubies, pearls, diamonds and emeralds openly in the bazaar, and the king received his audience in a 40 pillared hall. There was a huge dam across the Tungabhadra and an aqueduct 15 miles long from the river into the city. It is one of the most remarkable irrigation works in India.

*Detailed Relations between Vizianagaram and Bhamini Kingdoms in the first half of the 15th century:—*At the commencement of the reign of Deva Raya I (1406—1422) there was peace between the two kingdoms and each party agreed to refrain from molesting the subjects of the other. But in 1406 Deva Raya attempted to capture the daughter of a farmer in Mudkal. He went with a large force to capture the girl but in vain. The Hindus looted the country on their way and so Sultan Feroze declared war. He arrived near Vizianagaram and besieged the city for four months while his troops ravaged the country to the south of the capital. Deva Raya therefore purchased peace by giving his daughter in marriage to the Sultan and indemnifying him with an immense treasure and ceding for ever the Fort of Bankapur near Hospet. Feroze then returned to his capital.

Coming to the reign of Deva Raya II (1422—48) there was War with Ahmed, Sultan of Gulbarga who attacked the Hindus of Telingana and hence Deva Raya helped the Rajah of Telingana (Warrangal) and drove out the Sultan's troops. The Sultan Ahmad Shah in 1422 continued the War and defeated the Hindu troops. The country was then laid waste and the capital was besieged and so Deva Raya made peace on condition that he would send the tribute for as many years as he had neglected to pay (1423 A. D.)

The Sultan's next War was again against Warrangal and this time Warrangal was completely destroyed (1424—25). The next Sultan Allauddin waged War against Vizianagaram in 1435 because Deva Raya withheld his tribute and refused to pay all the arrears. So the country was laid waste in such a way that the Hindu King procured peace by giving 20 elephants, the arrear amount and 200 dancing girls.

The City of Vizianagaram as described by Nicolo Deconti (the Italian traveller) in 1420 and by Abdul Razak, (a Persian Envoy) in 1422 is as follows:—

According to Nicolo: The City was 60 miles in circumference and there was an army of 1 lakh troops. It was in the midst of the hills and its walls were carried up to the hills so as to enclose the valleys at their foot. This shows that the defence of the city was extraordinary. The Kings marry as many wives as they please and they are burnt with their dead husbands. The king is more powerful than all the other kings of India. He has 12000 wives of whom 4000 were employed in kitchen and 3000 were selected wives who would burn themselves with him. He further describes the city as having an area of 60 miles, with extraordinary strong defences of lofty and massive stone walls, and with palatial buildings, carved temples, and numerous Brahminical schools and colleges etc.

An idol was carried through the city in a chariot and many would cast themselves on the ground to be crushed to death so that the God may be pleased. Thrice in the year they keep festivals of special solemnity (Bhogi, Dasara, and Krishna Ashtami).

He next describes the finding of diamonds on a hill 15 days journey from the capital. They may be the mines of Golconda or the diamond mines of Vajra Karur. He describes several coinages and currencies. People write on the leaves of trees. The debtor who failed to pay his debt s made the slave of the creditor.

Abdur Razak (a Persian envoy) in 1442 described the kingdom as extending from River Kistna to Cape Comorin, having an army of 11 lakhs of troops and 1000 elephants. There is no more absolute King in the whole of India. Capital is built in such a manner that 7 citadels and 7 walls enclose each other in such a manner that no horse or foot soldier could approach the citadel. There are guards at the gate to collect octroi duties. Between the 12th and 13th forts the space is filled with cultivated fields and with horses and gardens. In the space from 3rd to the 7th fort, shops, bazaars and crowds of people were found. The bazars are extremely long and broad. The King's palace is to the North. Each class of men belonging to each profession had shops contiguous to one another. The Jewellers sell publicly in the bazaar, pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. There are numerous running streams and canals all over the city. On the left of the King's palace rises the Dewan-khana or Court house and the Dewan or Dunaik settles peoples' affairs and hears their petitions and finally makes his report to the King. Nearby is the Royal mint where the coins were struck. Opposite to the Dewan Khana is the house of the elephants. Festivals like *Mahānavami* are held in great brilliance. Generals, Princes and people from all parts of the Empire attend the palace with presents. The musicians and story-tellers, dancing girls and jugglers pleased the audience and the king was seated on a high throne. The throne was made of Gold and Precious stones. On the throne was a square cushion made of pearls on which the King was sitting.

After the death of Devaraya II in 1448-9, two of his sons, Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha II ruled till 1485. Mallikarjuna's sons then ruled.

About this time, owing to the weakness of the Central Government, the Muhammadans invaded the central districts and conquered them. A powerful chief called Narasimha Raja, a relation of the King of Vizianagaram, was now ruling the country between the

Karnatic and the Telingana extending along the sea coast to Masulipatam. He was rising rapidly to independence under the weak and feeble monarchs of Vizianagaram whom he finally supplanted in or about 1486.

II DYNASTY: (The Saluva Dynasty):-

Saluva (Hawk) Mangi (1363 A.D.) A general of Kumara

Kampana

Gunda III

Saluva -Narasimha, Governor of Chandragiri, usurped Throne and ruled from 1486-92

His son *Immadi* or Second Narasimha (1493-1505) Real ruler was his Commander and Minister Narasa Nayaka of Tuluva Dynasty

His son, Tuluva *Vira* Narasimha-Usurped throne and ruled from 1505 to 1509 A.D.

In 1486 the second dynasty of Saluva Narasimha came to power. Virupaksha II was a weak and unworthy sovereign in whose time large tracts of land were lost to the Muhammadans including, Goa, Chaul and Dabhel. Virupaksha was also cruel and sensuous and so was killed by his own son who in his turn was slain by his brother. Disgusted with this, the nobles rose in revolt and placed one of their own members Viz Narasimha on the throne. He belonged to a family called Saluva. An inscription of 1485-86 calls him a Maharaya. By force of his arms he not only stayed Muhammadan aggression but consolidated the empire of Vizianagaram. Narasimha is said to have ruled for 44 years but probably it includes the period of his Governorship of Chandragiri. At the time of his death, in 1492, his sons being young, he entrusted the kingdom to his minister Tuluva Narasa. Saluva Immadi Narasimha ruled till 1505. After his death, the kingdom passed into the hands of Narasa's eldest son Vira Narasimha, and then into the hands of his brother, *Krishna Deva Raya*, the most powerful of *Tuluvas*.

Krishna Deva Raya (1509-1530):— Narasa Naik (1505) and then Veera Narasimha ruled till the accession of Krishna Deva Raya in 1509. Krishna Raya had a striking personality as described by Paes who saw him about the year 1520. Krishna Raya was not only Monarch-De-Jure (the Lawful) but was in practice an absolute sovereign of extensive power and strong personal influence. He was physically strong on account of hard bodily exercises by the use of Indian club and sword. He was a fine rider and had a noble presence. He commanded the armies in person and was also brave and statesman-like, gentle and generous, loving and beloved by all. Paes states that he was gallant and perfect in all things. The only blot in his career is that after his victories over the Muslims he grew to be haughty and insolent in his demands. Thus after defeating Adil Shah of Bijapur he made peace with him on condition that he should kiss his feet. It was such arrogant acts that finally led to the downfall of the Hindu Empire on the battle-field of Talikota.

All South India was under his sway and several semi-independent chiefs were his vassals. Krishna Raya celebrated his accession by erecting the Great tower or Gopura of the Hampi temple. He made Saluva Timmana his Minister and sent his nephew and 3 of his brothers to Chandragiri. Early in his reign Albuquerque the Portuguese Governor begged the Raya to attack the Rajah of Calicut by land, promising to attack him by sea. He also promised to supply Vizianaram alone with Persian horses but nothing seems to have come out of this. In 1510 Albuquerque captured Goa from Adil Shah and requested Krishna Raya to permit him to build a fort at Bhatkal for the protection of the Portuguese trade but in vain. Shortly after, Adil Shah's troops recaptured Goa. Soon after, Goa was again taken by Albuquerque and ever since it remained in the Portuguese hands. Soon after the capture of Goa (1510), the Portuguese received permission to build a fort at Bhatkal. About this time, the people of Belgaum revolted from Adilshah

and came under Krishna Raya's protection. About 1512 Albuquerque promised again to supply Persian horses to the Raya. About that time, Krishna Raya invaded Adil Shah's dominions and captured the fort of Raichur. Ismail Adil was too much engrossed in the internal affairs of his Govt. to give Raichur any timely relief. In 1514 both the Raya and Adil shah approached Albuquerque for the exclusive right to trade in horses. After some negotiation Albuquerque promised to supply Vizianagaram only with horses in return for annual payment, and also promised to aid him in his wars against Adil Shah if the expenses of the troops were to be paid. At the same time he wrote to Bijapur that he would give the Sultan horses and help if he would surrender a portion of the west coast to the Portuguese. But before anything could be settled he died.

Daurte Barbosa who visited Vizianagaram during 1504-14 wrote that the city was rich and the empire was full of cities and large towns. The sea-port of Bhatkal had been extensive, export trade being in iron, spices, drugs and myrabolams and import trade in horses and pearls. The Governor of Bhatkal was a nephew of the Raya. The capital was very populous and surrounded on one side by a good stone wall and on another by the river and on another by a mountain. There are several palaces and courthouses as well as buildings of lords. The streets were very wide and filled with great crowds of all nations and creeds. There was infinite trade in the city in jewels and in diamonds, pearls, silks, cloth and coral. The king had several women-attendants who lived in the palaces. The king met in a house called Zenana his Governors and Councillers who came in very rich litters (pallakeelu). The king had in waiting at all times 900 elephants 20,000 horses and a lakh of infantry—a sort of standing army receiving monthly pay from the Raya.

Krishna Raya put down a rebellious vassal in the Mysore country called the Ganga Raja of Ummathur. He also captured the Forts of Sivassamudram and Sriranga.

patnam reducing the whole country to obedience. He then turned on his Eastern or Kalinga campaigns.

In 1513 he marched against Udayagiri in Nellore Dt., then under the King of Orissa and subdued it in 1514. He brought with him from a temple there a statue of Sri Krishna which he set up at Vizianagaram and endowed it with Cash and lands. He also built the Krishna Swami temple and about the same time another temple of Ramaswami.

After capturing Udayagiri he marched in 1515 against Kondavidu, another hill—fortress in the possession of the King of Orissa and took it. He left Saluva Timma as the Governor of the conquered provinces and went in pursuit of the Orissa King Northwards. Kondavidu was under the Kings of Orissa from 1454 to 1515. Saluva Timmana left his nephew Nadendla Gopa Mantri incharge of Kondavidu. Krishna Raya advanced to Kodapalli and took it and captured a wife and son of the King of Orissa. Krishna Raya's inscription is also found in Kanaka Durga temple, Bezwada and on it the several conquests are inscribed. He then marched to Rajahmundry (1516) and there made peace with the Orissa King by marrying his daughter. His inscriptions are found in the Simhachalam temple showing that he conquered the country so far to the North. A Telugu work called *Raya Vachakom* narrates the story of the fight between the Raya and the Gajapathi King and states that the Raya went as far as Cuttack and defeated the Gajapathi king by means of a trick and made a treaty by which he married the Gajapathy King's daughter and got as dowry the whole of the Gajapathi kingdom to the south of the River Godavari. The work also states that at Potnur town near Vizianagaram in Vizag district he erected a pillar of victory. After these victories the Raya reached Tirupathi temple and made rich endowments to the God there.

After these conquests, the Raya turned his attention to the conquest of Raichur-Doab and took it (1520) from out of the hands of Adil Shah of Bijapur.

Effects : The Hindu victory so weakened the power of Adil Shah that he never tried to attack the Hindu Kingdom in the life-time of the Raya. It also caused all the Muhammeden powers in the Dekkan to combine and finally overthrow the Hindus at Talikota in 1565. The Victory affected the Hindus by creating in them pride, arrogance and intolerance to their neighbours. It also affected the fortunes of the Portuguese on the coast. When Vizianagaram won, Goa rose and her trade increased. When Vizianagaram fell, Portuguese trade and power fell.

Vizianagara Administration under Krishna Deva Raya :-

The reign of Krishna Deva Raya is important for the development of the Public Works and Temples. At the beginning of his reign, Krishna Raya built the "Gopura" for the Hampi temple and repaired another which was built by the first Kings in honour of Madhavachari (Vidyāraṇya), the founder of the fortunes of Vizianagaram. In 1514, after his return from the Eastern campaigns (*Digvijaya*), he built the Krishna Swami and the Hazara (palace), Ramaswamy temples. These temples contain bas-reliefs of historical scenes taken from the Epics. In 1521 he constructed the great dam and channel at Korragal and the Basavanna channel both of which are still in use. He constructed a great tank or lake in the capital with the help of a Portuguese Engineer. He also constructed a town called Nagalapura (Hospet) in honour of his mother, Nagala devi. He also constructed the temple of Viṭhala-Swamy on the banks of Tungabhadra, the most ornate of all the religious edifices of the Kingdom. It shows the best possible florid style of construction. In 1528 he constructed an enormous Statue of Narasimha and granted lands for its maintenance. He also gave grants of lands to the Virupaksha temple at Hampi on the occasion of the festival of his coronation. He was a Patron of Poets and had eight noted poets who wrote many works in Telugu and other languages.

ACHYUTA RAYA 1530-42 (12 years) :- He was the brother of Krishna Raya. He was an incapable ruler

and so the Sultan Adil Shah of Bijapur easily captured Raichur and Mudkal in 1531, and the Raya even invited the Sultan to help him in suppressing the intrigues of his ministers. And for this help, he gave the Sultan rich presents. He was so violent and impolite that he alienated his best friends and ruined the Hindu cause in South India. The Kulikutubshah of Golkonde attacked Kondavidu and took it.

Two inscriptions at Canjeevaram dated 1532 and 1533 state that king Atchutaraya ruled over the country extending from Conjeevaram to Tinnevely in the south. During the time of Achyuta Raya and his brother Sadasivaraya, Rama Raya, son of Salva Timma Raya (according to Brigg's) the great minister of Krishna Deva Raya remained the '*Defacto*' ruler of Vizianagaram. During the weak reign of Atchuta Raya, Ibrahim Adli Shah destroyed Hospet or Nagalapur and advanced as far as Vizianagaram and retired after payment of large sums of money and many valuable presents in 1535—36. Soon after, Adil Shah captured Adoni. Rama Raya sent his younger brother, Venkatadri to its relief but he was defeated by Asad Khan, Adil Shah's general near Adoni.

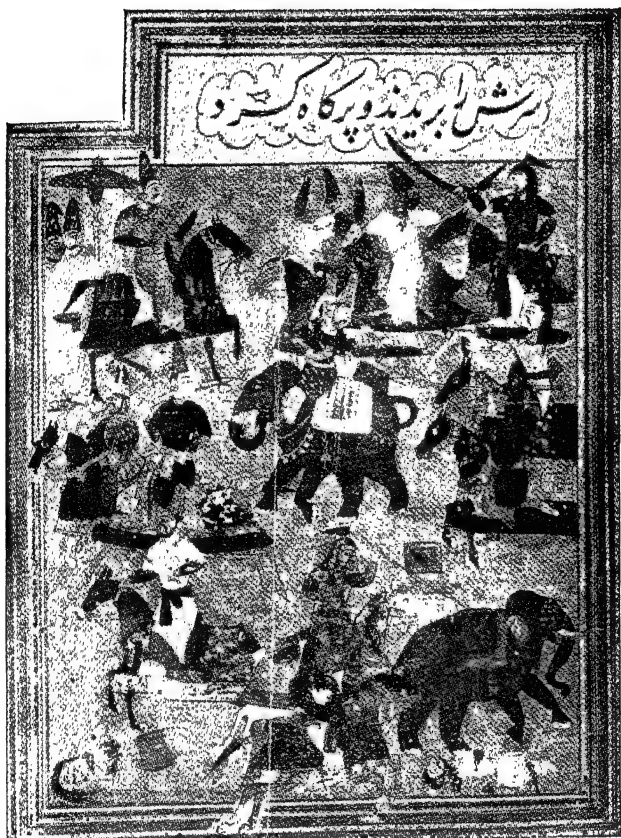
In 1542 Achyutaraya died and was nominally succeeded by Sadasivaraya during whose reign Vizianagaram was practically in the hands of Rama Raya and his two brothers Tirumal and Venkatadri. During this period the Portuguese established themselves at various places on the west coast and built several forts for the protection of their trade. They were often at War with the Zamorin of Calicut and other feudatories of Vizianagaram. Though the Hindu Kings of Vizianagaram treated the Portuguese with great liberality, the later behaved treacherously towards them. For example, in 1545 the Portuguese Governor of Goa resolved to sail with a large fleet to the east coast to sack the temple of Tirupati, purely for lust of gain and gold. But a storm prevented it. However, the portuguese destroyed some rich temples on the west coast and caused damage to the property belonging

to the feudatories of Vijayanagaram. Several inscriptions of Sadasivaraya from 1542-69 have been found. We learn from them that Sadasivaraya was recognised by every one as the ruler, though Rama Raya and his two brothers were *Defacto* powers behind the throne. It would seem that Sadasivaraya had no power of initiative as he was kept under constraint by Rama Raya. Some epigraphical records state that Ranga Raya and Achyuta Raya were two half-brothers of Krishna Deva Raya and Ranga's son was Sada Siva who came to the throne in 1542-43 after Achyuta's death. It appears also that after Achyuta's death his son Venkata was actually raised to the throne but as he died shortly after, Sada Siva was crowned King in 1542-43 A. D. Some inscriptions also state that Rama Raya and his two brothers were the sons of a certain Ranga Raya and Rama Raya married a daughter of Krishna Deva Raya. She had a brother, a young boy, according to Nuniz, at the time of Krishna Deva Raya's death but the boy seems to have died a natural death. Another daughter of Krishna Deva Raya was married to Rama Ray's brother Tirumala.

There is no doubt about the fact that Achyuta when he died in 1542 dislocated the whole empire, foolishly alienated the nobles and aroused a spirit of rebellion. So, though Sadasiva became King possibly after a short rule of Achyuta's son Venkata, the Ministers like Rama Raya became Dictators. Several provincial Governors began to assert their independence.

Events leading to the Batt'e of Talikota in 1565.

In 1542 Achutaraya died leaving a young son Venkata in the power of his uncle. The nobles wished to keep the boy at liberty but the uncle disagreed and so the nobles intrigued to become independent each in his own province. The mother of the boy begged Adil Shah to come and secure the Kingdom for her son. But Ranga bribed him and soon after, he got the boy-king Venkata killed. He also put out the eyes of some chief nobles. So, the rest intrigued with the Sultan who therefore entered



A Scene from Tallikota Battle.

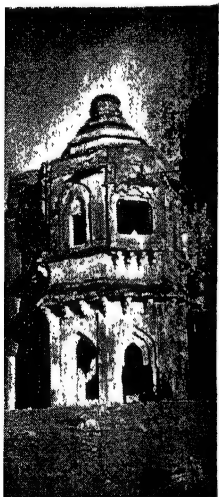
తల్లికోట యుద్ధమునందలి ఒక దృశ్యము.



Watch Tower.
రాతి గోపురం.



Hampi Jaina Temple.
హంపి జైనదేవాలయము.



Guards Chamber.
రక్షకభటుల నివాసము.



వీనుగు కాలలు.

Vizianagaram and was received as sovereign by many. But on account of his intolerant and haughty airs, he was obliged to retire to Bijapur. Then Rama Raya who married Krishna Deva Raya's daughter secured the kingdom for himself. But he acknowledged Sadasiva Raya as a nominal ruler and Sadasiva ruled from 1542-1567.

In 1543 Nizam Shah made alliance with Rama Raya the De facto Minister-ruler to attack Adil Shah. And Rama Raya sent Venkatadri to reduce Raichur and the Doab. So the Sultan of Bijapur made terms with Nizam Shah of Ahmed Nagar and Rama Raya of Vizianagaram but attacked and defeated Kutb Shah of Golconda for joining against him in the late war. In 1544, the Sultan of Ahmad Nagar again attacked Adil Shah at the instigation of Rama Raya but was completely defeated. Soon after a triple alliance was made between the Sultan of Ahmad Nagar, Rama Raya of Vizianagaram and Decastro, the Governor of the Portuguese at Goa, against Bijapur. In 1550, at the instance of Rama Raya, Nizam Shah of Ahmad Nagar attacked Ibrahim Shah of Bijapur and took Kalyan and in 1551 Raichur, Mudkal and finally the Doab. The latter place was restored to Rama Raya. In 1553 Nizam Shah of Ahmed Nagar died and then Sultan Ibrahim of Bijapur and Rama Raya became friends for a while. The Bijapur Sultan was defeated by one of his chiefs named Ainul-mulk and so, on his request, Rama Raya sent his brother Venkatadri to expel the enemy from the Sultan's country in return for a heavy bribe.

In 1557 Sultan Ibrahim died and was succeeded by Ali Adil. He made friends with Sada Siva and Rama Raya on the one hand and with Hussain Nizam Shah of Ahmad Nagar on the other. Ali Adil with a view to make a real and lasting friendship with Vizianagaram came to condole Rama Raya on the death of his son but when Rama Raya failed to attend Ali Adil out of the city, the latter was disgusted with the haughty

arrogance of Rama Raya. On his return to Bijapur, Ali Adil peremptorily demanded from Hussain Nizam Shah the restoration of the forts of Kalyan and Sholapur and on the latter's refusal, war broke out. Ali Adil Shah called Rama Raya to his help in 1559 and he laid waste Ahmed Nagar insulting the honour of the Muslim women destroying the mosques and burning the sacred Quoran. This behaviour on the part of the Hindus so incensed the followers of Islam, not only the hostile subjects of Golconda but even the allied troops and the people of Bijapur that it laid the foundation for the final downfall and destruction of Vijianagaram (1565).

Battle of Talikota (1565):- In 1565 A.D. the famous battle of Talikota was fought. The five Muslim states entered into a league with a view to crush Rama Raya, as he was continually encroaching on the dominions of the Muslims, and as he was too wealthy and powerful and as he had too vast an army for any single muslim state to fight and win. It was arranged that Hussain Shah of Ahmad Nagar should marry his daughter to Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur and all the five Sultans should combine their armies and conquer and destroy Vijianagaram. Ali Adil sent an envoy to Rama Raya demanding the restoration of some districts taken by him and on his refusal the Muslim allied army met at Bijapur and began its march to the south in December 1564 A.D. It reached the neighbourhood of the River Kistna near a small town called Talikota. The battle did not actually take place at Talikota but many miles to the south of the River Kistna. The actual battle field was near the village of Bhogapur on the road leading from Ingaligi to Mudgal (Rakshasthagdi). At Vizianagaram there was the utmost confidence. Sadasiva Raya, the nominal King, lived his pitiable life in seclusion while Rama Raya, the Defacto Ruler, was utterly indifferent to the movements of his enemies. He never heard that the enemies entered his territories till the news was brought one day while he was at dinner. His first action was to send his younger

brother Tirumala to block the passage of the River Kistna at all points. He then sent his second brother, Venkatadri and finally marched himself with the whole army which numbered 6 lakhs infantry and 1 lakh cavalry. The Moslems were half that number. The Hindus fortified the banks on the southern-side of the River Kistna and mounted the cannon to dispute the crossing. However, the Sultans succeeded in crossing it at a time when its defence was deserted. On 23-1-1565, a pitched battle was fought. The Hindu left wing was under Tirumala, the centre under Rama Raya and the right under Venkatadri. Opposed to Tirumala was Bijapur Sultan Ali Adil. The Moslem centre was under Hussain Shah of Ahmed Nagar and the Muslem left wing under Golconda and Ahmadnagar Sultans. The muslem artillery was in the centre. It consisted of 600 pieces of cannon in 3 lines protected by 200 archers. The archers fell back as the Hindus under Rama Raya advanced and the Muslem batteries opened such fire that the Hindus retreated in confusion and with great loss. Rama Raya was very old being 96, and against the entreaties of his officers he prepared to supervise operations from a litter rather than remain mounted. He was too confident of victory. The Hindu wings protected by guns pressed back the Muslem lines. At this juncture Rama Raya, to encourage his men still further, descended from his litter and sat on a Royal throne. The Hindu centre made repeated attacks on the Muslem centre but the cannon fire was so destructive that the Hindu centre was again thrown into confusion. Then the Moslem cavalry cut their way towards Rama Raya who meanwhile ascended his litter. Then a Muslem elephant dashed towards him and the litter-bearers let fall Rama Raya. Before he could rise himself, he was captured by the Muslems. Soon, he was beheaded and the Head was made visible to the Hindu troops. On seeing Raya dead, the Vizianagaram forces broke and fled. Nearly a lakh of Hindus were slain during the pursuit. So great was the

confusion that there was no thought of defending the capital. The two brothers of Rama Raya, after returning to the capital, left it with 550 elephants laden with treasure and state throne and insignia. King Sadasiva was carried off by Tirumala, now sole agent, to the Fort of Penukonda, which became the second capital. The city was soon given up to looting, sacking and burning at the hands of the robber tribes and the Muslems. For 5 months the destruction of Vizianagaram went on. The people were killed and palaces were broken and the statues and pavillions destroyed. Two years later, Tirumala tried to repopulate the city but failed. It is now in ruins, known as Hampi Ruins.

Tirumala remained at Penukonda, keeping Sadasiva as his prisoner. So, the nobles of the empire revolted and proclaimed their independence in 1567. The country was in a state of anarchy. The empire became disintegrated. It effected the Portuguese trade also. In 1569 Tirumala killed Sadasiva and mounted the throne.

GENEALOGY OF TULUVA DYNASTY

(Third Dynasty)

Timma = (Devaki)

Iswara = (Bukkamma)

(1) Narasa or Narasimha (3 wives) (Usurped throne about 1498)

(By Tippaji)	(By Nagala)	(By Ubambika)
Viranarasimha	(3) Krishna Devaraya	
(2) 1505-1509	1509-1510-1530	

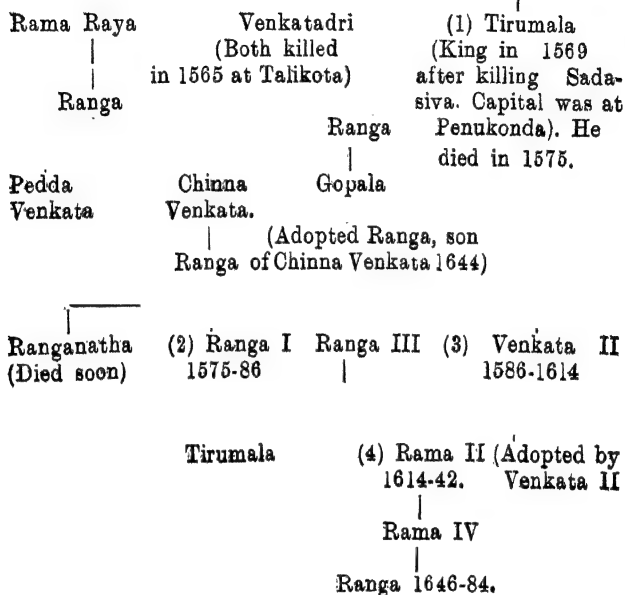
	Ranga I	(4) Achuta
	married	1530-42

A daughter married Rama Raya	A son Tirumala born in 1517. died young	A daughter married Tirumala	Timmamba (5) Sadasiva	His son (5) Venkata I 1542-43. made Yuvarajaa long with Sadasiva but died shortly after,
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GENEALOGY OF THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY.

(Fourth & Last Dynasty)

Ranga I



Rule of the Aravidus = Zenith of Telugu Culture and Civilization

The end of the Tuluva and the beginning of the Aravidu dynasty are not separated by any great fight. The Aravidu family, connected by marriage with the reigning Tuluva family, became more powerful after Achuta Raya's death. The real founder of the dynasty was Rama Raya who, even long before the Talikota battle, paved for his family the path leading to the throne. When Venkatadri (Venkata I) died on the field of Talikota and when Rama Raya was beheaded, Tirumala held Sadasiva Raya as prisoner and after killing him ascended the throne in 1568. His successors, Ranga II

and Venkata II were the most illustrious sovereigns. Venkata checked the Muslem raids in the North, subdued the turbulent Naiks in the south, caused the Rajas of Mysore to be firmly established in their realm, strengthened his power by an alliance with the Portuguese and fostered literature and fine arts throughout his country. The Civil war that followed his death hastened the decay of the Vizianagaram Empire.

Tirumala is said to have murdered Sadasiva after his 28 years rule and seized the throne for himself. Tirumala was 90 years of age when he became the emperor of Vizianagaram at Penukonda (1569-70). After coming to the throne Tirumala propagated his rule (*the new Aravidu rule*) by reviving the old grants and making the new grants. Some of the feudatory chiefs and Rajas rebelled but they were put down. A new system of Government was introduced by which the whole empire was divided into three viceroyalties (1) Telugu, (2) Kanarese and (3) Tamil and they were distributed among the three sons of the emperor. Thus Sri Ranga Raya ruled over the Telugu country with his first capital at Penukonda which was later on removed to Udayagiri in Nellore district. The next brother Rama was viceroy of the country extending from Kaveri to the Arabian sea with its capital at Srirangapatnam. He thus ruled over the Kanarese country. Rama's task was most difficult as the feudatory chiefs of the Kanarese country frequently rebelled and finally he lost his life. But his two sons Tirumala and Sri Ranga played a great part in the future History. The third brother Venkata ruled over the Tamil country from his capital at Chandragiri. Ginji, Tanjore and Madura were ruled by Nayaks who paid homage to him.

Tirumala made this new administrative arrangement with a view to leave the affairs of the Government in the hands of his sons and devote himself to check the advance of the Muslems in the northern frontier. The great defect of the arrangement was that the viceroyalties became here-

ditary and it led to the disruption of the empire Tirumala was a man of pious disposition and made several grants to temples and brahmins. Tirumala was noted for his piety and wisdom. He performed several "Danas" built temples and bathing places and gave grants of villages to Vedic scholars and to temples. As the minister and commander he was the right hand man of Rama Raya and it was only his anxiety to save the empire that made him kill Sadasiva. He retired from the throne on account of old age in favour of his son, Sri Ranga (Ranga II). This took place in 1571-72.

Empire under Sri Ranga:-

Sri Ranga succeeded his father Tirumala in 1572 and had his capital at Penukonda. He gave many grants on the occasion of his coronation (1) to several brahmins learned in the Vedas and (2) to the temples. His Minister was Timma Raja. His commander-in-chief was Obala who was succeeded in 1581 by Venkatappa Naidu. Rayasam Venkatapathi was the manager of the Secretariat of the empire. He was loved by the emperor who presented him with a village and gold jewels. Timmayya Mantri was in charge of the chief affairs of the state.

During the first four years of his (Sri Ranga's) reign, the petty rulers of the west coast rebelled but he finally subdued them and reduced all hill forts. In South India the Marwar and Karavar tribes inhabiting the Malanadu and Kongunadu (Nilgiri and Coimbatore districts) also rebelled but were put down. The Muslims meanwhile attacked the Northern frontier. Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur was invited by Sankara Nayak, the chief of Kanara to help him against Vizianagarala. The Muslims helped him then but finally forced him to become tributary to them. Thus the Shimoga and Kanara districts passed under Bijapur control.

Ali Adil Shah soon after made his first invasion of Penukonda. So Sri Ranga appealed to Kutb Shah of Gol-

konda for help and the Sultan of Golkonda accordingly helped him and thus the siege was raised. In 1575 the Sultan of Bijapur again invaded Vizianagaram territory. Sri Ranga marched from Penukonda and fought a great battle with Ali Adil Shah but he was taken prisoner and his army was routed. The immediate result of this muslim victory was the possession of territories to the north of Penukonda which never went back into the hands of the Vizianagaram emperors. Another result was that Malkappa Naidu, the Governor of Bukka Samudram and the other chiefs paid homage to Ali Adil Shah and received the title of Padisha-vazir. Sri Ranga however won his liberty for a heavy ransom. In 1577 Ali Adil Shah with a view to destroy Penukonda, attacked it again but SriRanga's son-in-law Jagdeva Raya repulsed the Bijapur army. For this service Jagadeva Raya got a large district which extended from Burmahal in the east to the western ghats. In 1578 the Nawab of Golkonda broke off his alliance with Sri Ranga and conquered Kam-bham, Udayagiri, Bellamkonda and Kondavidu. Konda-veedu was taken from the hands of Venkata, the brother of Ranga who was driven from the south. Thus the Telugu country fell into the hands of the Sultan of Golkonda and was lost for ever to Vizianagaram. At about the same time Ahobalana and the country around it came into the hands of the Sultan of Golkonda. In 1578 Sri Ranga's dominions were limited only to Penukonda and the country to the south of it including Mysore.

Tanjore and Madura principalities:—Sri Ranga's last year of rule seems to be 1584 for an inscription of 1585 mentions the name of Venkata as ruling at Penukonda. Sri Ranga's life as a ruler of the state is not as bright as his private one which is noted for piety, charity and other fine deeds.

His reign was one of the most fatal periods in the history of Vizianagaram. The Muslims attacked thrice the walls of Penukonda.

(To be Continued)

THE TWENTY - FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT

for the year 1946-47

The Managing Council of the Society has pleasure in submitting the following report of the work done by the Society during the year 1946-47:—

Members:—The number of Resident members is 40, Moffussil members 113, and Subscribers 48. With regard to subscribers, we are glad to state that almost all the Universities in India have been subscribers to our valuable Journal. Fifty Journals are on our *exchange list*. owing to non-receipt of foreign Journals and periodicals, due to war conditions, we are not able to show an increase in our list of exchanges. Since the war is over and we are returning to normal times, we hope to get more exchanges than before especially from foreign countries.

Finances:—As usual, the Rajahmundry Municipality gave us a grant, of Rs. 100/-. With regard to Government Library grant, a sum of Rs. 200/- alone was paid by Government for improving the Library. The money was used for purchasing five Almyrahs for Rs. 160/-, Library equipments, e.g. tables, boxes for keeping copper-plates and palm-leaf manuscripts, and chairs for Rs. 140/- and for purchasing books and for binding a sum of Rs. 170/- was spent. In all, nearly Rs. 500/- were spent for library furniture binding and other equipments.

Journal:—During the year Vol xv (parts 1, 2, 3, 4,) a. a combined volume was issued by the society. As it was printed in the Ananda press Madras, and its contributions were learned, wide appreciation was expressed by members. The Thesis of Dr. L. Sundaram on Revenue Administration of N. Circars was fully published in this Journal.

Reddi Sanchika : This was published during the year. The book was well received though it was long delayed in the press. It contains accounts & contributions of the

Reddi Kings for the Andhra culture and glory as well as for the Country's political freedom from the clutches of the moslems who conquered the country.

Other Activities : In December 1946, the Society was represented by Sri R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T., M. E. S. (Retired) at the 10th Indian History Congress held at Allahabad. Sri R. Subba Rao, the Society's Secretary read some valuable papers at the conference. He also exhibited several copper-plates, gold coins and Persian Firmans at the Historical exhibition.

The following gentlemen namely, Messers R. Subbarao M. A., L. T., M. E. S., Rajah K. S. Jagannadharao Bahadur and M. A. Reddy, M. A., L. L. B., and B. V. Krishnarao, M. A., B. L. and V. Apparao, B. A., B. L., are nominated as delegates to the forth-coming 13th Oriental Conference to be held at Nagapur.

The number of managing-council meetings held was fourteen (14) for the year 1946-47.

The *Vijayanagar Conference* was held in October 46 and *Vengi Conference* in March 47 and brief reports of Vengi Conference are given below.

The Office-bearers for the year 1947-48, elected in the general body meeting held on 13-4-47, were as follows:—

President.

Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu garu B A., B L.

Vice-President.

Sri R. Venkatasivudu garu M.A.

Gen. Secretary.

Sri R. Subba Rao garu M.A., L.T., M.E.S (Retd)

Joint Secretary.

Sri M. S. Prakasa Rao garu M.A., B.E.D.

Treasurer.

Sri K. J. Gopala Rao garu B.A., B.L,

Librarian.

Sri A. Narasimha Rao garu M.A., B.E.D.

Managing Council

Sri V Apparao garu B.A., B.L.

Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur Garu.

Sri Vepa Sreeram garu B.A., B.E.D.

A sub committee of 5 members was elected to codify the existing Rules & to make suggestions for altering rules & to frame Rules for the formation of *a Trust Board and a Research Institute*. It was noted with pleasure by one and all that the Society made an all-round progress in the field of Finance which showed an increase of over Rs. 18,000 over last year's income.

A Public meeting was held in the evening when Lectures were delivered on several Historical topics by the members of the Society.

REPORTS OF CONFERENCES

The Andhra Historical Research Society Rajahmundry.

“The Vengi Empire Day”

Held at Pedavegi, Ellore Taluk on 8th, 9th, 10th March 1947

The Vengi Empire Day was celebrated at Pedavegi Ellore Taluk under the Presidentship of Dr. C. Narayana Rao M A L T. Ph.D., one of the founders and first presidents of the society. On the 8th the proceedings began with a procession accompanied by music. Sri Kalagara Naga-bhushana Chowdari garu B.A.B.L. welcomed the delegates and public in a felicitous speech, after which the Secretary of the Society Sri Rallabandi Subba Rao garu M. A. L. T. gave a brief account of the progress of the Historical Research Society during the last 25 years since its inception in 1922. The Society celebrated the 9th Centenary of the coronation of Raja Raja Narendra and the Empire Days of Kalinga, Kakatiya, Reddi and Vijayanagara and published separately volumes containing the histories of

these empires, the last in English. It has been conducting a quarterly Journal of the Society since 1926 through which it not only publishes valuable articles on different aspects of Indian History, but also publishes several copper-plate and stone inscriptions. It is maintaining a Research library estimated to cost over Rs. 50,000 which serves the needs of research scholars. It is running a free Reading room and has been arranging popular lectures on history by eminent scholars. Recently it has acquired a habitation for itself through the munificent donation of the Maharaja of Vijayanagaram and other Donars. It is opening a central Oriental Mss. library presented to it by its first President-Founder, Dr. C Narayana Rao. It is maintaining a Museum of historical antiquities containing several copper-plate grants and stone inscriptions, coins and other relics of antiquarian and historical interest. It has planned to celebrate the Andhra Empire Day and the Society's Silver Jubilee in October or November next and appealed to the public and scholars for their best help. Sri Raja Yerlagadda Sivarama Prasad Bahadur, B.A. the Zamindar of Chellapalli then opened the conference with a masterly speech detailing the history and importance of the Vengi Empire and announced a donation to meet the cost of bringing out the Vengi volume planned by the Society. Dr. C. Narayana Rao, the president, then delivered his presidential address giving resume of Vengi history and referring to problems in Vengi history, administration, religion, art and literature during the six centuries that the Vengi Empire was in existence. He wound up his address by an appeal to the Andhras to take interest in acquiring a correct knowledge of their past. Messages were then read from eminent scholars and sympathisers from all over Andhra and other provinces.

In the afternoon, a Historical Exhibition was opened by W. H. Mitchell Esq. B. A. District Collector of West Godavari, who was very much impressed by the large number and variety of the exhibits. The Exhibition was thoroughly enjoyed by nearly two thousand spectators who

came in crowds from about 40 villages all around and great interest was aroused and also earnest desire to know more and more of Andhra history.

On the 9th inst, the second day, the History section of the conference began with a stimulating address by Sri R. Subba Rao M.A.L.T., who discussed several problems in Vengi history supporting his statements from inscriptional and documentary evidences. Sri N. V. Krishnamacharya, M. A. Lecturer, Bhimavaram College then read a very valuable paper on the early dynasties of Vengi. It was very much appreciated. Sri P. Lakshmipati B. A., B. L., B. E. D. of the Govt. Try. College Rajahmundry then spoke on the value of historical research. Sri V. Sriram B.A. B.E.D of the Training College, Rajahmundry spoke on the "The Spirit of History." Sri Ayyanki Venkataramanayya and B. Bhikshapati Rao, also spoke after which, the audience was entertained to music by Miss Mothey Narayanarao M. L. A. In the afternoon, the Sahitya section held its session. Dr. C. Narayana Rao in his opening speech referred to the contributions of Vengi to Prakrit, Sanskrit, Kannada, and Telugu literatures. Sri A. J. Nagagopala Rao M.A. and several pandits and poets took part in the proceedings after which Srimati Manneti Ratnamma garu entertained the audience by a sweet performance on the Vina.

The third day was devoted to an Excursion to the vast remains of Vijaya Vengipura lying all around in the course of which discoveries were made of rare statues and images among which was one of Chitrarathaswamy, the tutelary deity of the Salankayanas and a beautiful stone image of Suryanarayana, the Sun-god which lay in a field being worshipped by the villagers as a village goddess. The topography of the remains was closely studied and determined with reference to inscriptions and tradition.

In the evening, the Excursionists motored to Guntapalli, now called Jilakarapalem where they were very

hospitably received by the Zamindar, Sri Raja Raghavaraju Rangaraju garu.

The next morning at six (on the 11th inst.) the delegates visited the ruins of Guntupalli Buddhist Remains on the beautiful hill close by. The Viharas, the Chaityas, the Caves, the Brahmi inscriptions, and the vast Buddhist relics, of 2,200 years ago were a source of inspiration and delight. On returning, the exhibits of the Society were shown and explained to the enlightened Zamindar who, pleased with the efforts of the Society in the dissemination of historical knowledge in the country kindly promised to become a royal patron.

At the request of the citizens of Ellore which formed the western limit of the old capital of the Vengi Empire Dr. C. Narayana Rao, and Sri R. Subba Rao, President and Secretary of the celebrations addressed a big meeting of students and the elite of the town on the evening of the 12th inst. on the various aspects of Vengi history in the Govt. Training School.

The Celebrations were a great success from every point of view chiefly through the exertions of the energetic secretary Sri Josyula Appala Ramamurty B. A. the Firka village development officer and Sri Kalagara Nagabhusham Chowdari garu B. A. B. L. the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Resolutions were passed at the conference (1) requesting the Madras Government to establish a central historical Museum immediately at Bezvada (2) requesting the Central Government to start archaeological excavations at and around Pedavegi and (3) requesting the Central Government to request the various foreign Governments to restore to the various Indian provinces the archaeological, epigraphical and other records till now lying with them to enable Indian scholars to see and study them.

Report of the Hon. Secretary of the
The Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry,
Sri R. Subba Rao, M.A.L.T., M.E.S. (Retd),

read at the Vengi Day Celebrations on 8th of March 1947.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have great pleasure in expressing our Society's grateful thanks to the Reception Committee for arranging this Conference. I feel happy in presenting this brief Report on the work and life of the Society during the past 25 years. Started in 1922, the Society has gained in strength by its *publications* (Journals of Historical Research in English and Commemorative histories of different Andhra dynasties in Telugu) and also by its *periodical conferences* and *exhibitions of Historical interest* held at Rajahmundry, Mukhalingam, Warrangal, Hampi and Vengi. The Society is also maintaining a Free Reading Room and Library at Rajahmundry for public benefit and receiving grants and donations from local boards and Government. The Society has recently got Building donations of Rs 13,000 from the Maharaja of Vizianagaram, Rs. 2,000 each from Messrs, Nyapathy Kameswara Rao and Rajah K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur and Rs. 500/- each from Messrs. Vadrevu Venkappa Rao, R. Venkatasivudu, Hota Veerabhadrayya and G. Varada Rao. It has purchased a house on the Godavari bund for Rs. 15,000 and is putting up a terrace at a cost of Rs. 4,000. It has gained over a thousand palm-leaf manuscripts from Dr C. Narayana Rao M.A.L.T., Ph.D. recently. Its Musuem contains nearly 10 copper plate grants of the kings of the East Ganga, East Chalukya and Reddi & Vijianagar and other dynasties besides Gold, Silver, lead and copper coins of almost all the dynasties of India. The library and museum and the general stock of publications would be worth over a lac of rupees. It hopes, as a result of holding such conferences and publishing learned Journals & books to bring out soon 3 volumes in Telugu and English of *Andhra History*. It has resolved to

celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the Society and the "Andhra Day" in *October 1947*. It counts upon the support of all the Indian scholars and especially Andhras for the full realisation of its objects.

Presidential Address

Dr. C. Narayana Rao in his presidential address traced the progress of Indo-Iranian expansion in India and located the region of Nasik as the seat of a dispersal of the three races of South India, namely, the Maharashtra, the Andhra and the Karnataka. This was the region from where the different Indo-Iranian races expanded and occupied the whole of South India. The Chalukyan line has been claimed by the Mahārashtras, the Andhras and the Karnatakas as being exclusively their own, but it shared the characteristics of all the three races. The Chalukyans of Badami did not claim as belonging exclusively to one of these three races.

The Chalukya line of Badami was the earliest and it spread in various directions especially through the prowess, valour, strength and statesmanship of Pulakesi II. In his time Harshavardhana was consolidating his position in Northern India and Simhavishnu, the Pallava King of Kanchi was trying to dominate South India. Pulakesi occupying a central position had to fight on both sides. How he withstood the onslaughts of these two is a matter of history. Pulakesi set up one of his brothers as his Viceroy in southern Gujerat. The expansion of the Chalukyas in North India does not concern us. Pulakesi's brother Kubja Vishnuvardhana reduced the local rebellious chiefs and marched towards the east to help his brother who was struggling in the south-east against the Pallavas. He was the first Eastern Chalukya king. Beginning from him nearly thirty-three kings ruled over Vengi and the period of these reigns extended over 500 years. No other empire in the country lasted for such a long time. The Eastern Chalukyan system of administra-

tion gave complete safety and protection and peace to the Vengi country. The love of the rulers for learning, art and literature was unique. Art and literature flourished in the land. The long reigns of many of the East Chalukyan kings gave the necessary stability to the Empire.

"Vengi Day" Celebrations.

HISTORICAL EXHIBITION

8th March 1947.

Ladies & Gentlemen,

I feel thankful to the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry for requesting me to open the Historical Exhibition to-day although I am not an Andhra. There must be many learned scholars who could do more justice to the subject but it is my good fortune to get this opportunity of performing such a pleasant task of opening the Historical Records Exhibition.

It is needless to say, that such Exhibitions are very important and necessary for imparting a realistic sense of the Ancient past and our thanks are due to the Society for arranging this Exhibition at great trouble. For the last quarter of a century, this society has been arranging Historical Conferences and Exhibitions in various parts of Andhra Desa, thus imparting very useful knowledge to the people of the different localities. A true History and Forgotten Culture of the Ancient Past have been placed before the eyes of the people so that judging from the glorious past, the future may be modelled.

It is a matter of pride for one and all of us that this place Vengi has a distinct and bright History from such an ancient time as the 3rd. Century A.D. After the fall of the Imperial Andhra Dynasty, a number of subordinate dynasties rose to power in different parts of South India. Thus, the *Pallavas*, the *Ikshvakas*, the *Salan-*

kayanas and several other Dynasties rose on the ruins of Andhra Kingdom. The great Gupta Emperor Samudragupta, had conquered it in the beginning of the 4th. century A. D., but very soon, Vegi asserted its independence under the *Salankayana Kings* who ruled for nearly 2 centuries, the most notable among them being Nandivarma the second. But this dynasty soon fell at the hands of the *Vishnukundins of Lenduluru* (modern Denduluru) about the middle of the 5th. century A. D., But soon, this dynasty also fell at the hands of the West Chalukyan Emperor Pulikesin II, about 610 A. D. *The East Chalukyas* as they are called by the historians owing to their rule on the East Coast, established their sway for 600 years, nearly. During this whole period of 1000 years, *Vengi* country rose in-to importance and its History is revealed to us by means of several source-materials such as Copper-Plate inscriptions, stone-inscriptions, coins, Literatures (both foreign and indigenious) and Tradition. It will be our pleasant duty now to see some of these Research materials collected at great expense and trouble by the Andhra Historical Research Society of Rajahmundry and placed here for our Inspection. The Society, I understand, has a good Museum and Library at Rajahmundry and recently, it had the good fortune of obtaining several hundreds of Palm-leaf Manuscripts from the President of this Conference, Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M. A. L. T. P. H. D. I must also congratulate the Society on its having such a resourceful and learned Secretary, Sri Rallabandi Subba Rao M. A. L. T.; M. E. S., (Retired) who, during a period of 23 years of his connection with this society, acquired a good number of the Research materials I also thank the Reception Committee for making these arrangements at great trouble and expense. I will no longer stand between you and the Exhibition and I therefore declare it open with great pleasure,

SOME MESSAGES

P. 93/94, Manoharpukur Road,
Calcutta—29. 22—2—1949.

Dear Prof. Subba Rao,

Many thanks for your kind letter that reached me today. As I shall have unfortunately no time to attend the ceremony that you are going to celebrate on the ruins of ancient Vengi, I am sending herewith a few lines in adoration to the god Chitraratha, family deity of the Śaṅkayana Mahārājas of Vēṅgi.

with regards.

Yours Sincerely,
D. C. Sircar.

नमस्कृतिः

भारतस्यास्य वर्षस्य दीक्षणापथमंडले ।
कूले महोदधेः श्रीमदंघ्रदेशो ऽस्तिविश्रुतः ॥
तन्नासीन्नगरी वेंगीनरेंद्रैश्च महाबलैः ।
शालंकायनगोत्रीयैः सुरक्षिता निरंतरम् ॥
राजधानीद्विसौरम्या राज्ञः श्रीहस्तिवर्मणः ।
तत्केंद्रस्यापितं जासीच्चित्ररथस्य मंदिरम् ॥
तस्मै वेंगीपुरस्याय चित्ररथाय चारवे ।
भारतातीतभक्तस्य दीनेशस्य नमस्कृतिः ॥

बंगलप्रांत वास्तव्यस्य ।
श्रीदीनेशचंद्रसरकारस्य ॥

२२—२—१९४९

Bhimavaram, 7-3-1947.

My Dear Subbarao,

I am very glad indeed for the happy inspiration which has led to the organisation of this Conference. We, Andhras, have really a noble heritage of art and culture and in these days when we are earnestly desiring and

strenuously endeavouring to resuscitate our ancient culture and reconstitute ourselves into a distinct province, we have got to sedulously instill into the minds of our fellow Andhras a clear and correct knowledge based on incontestable evidences, literary archaeological & numismatic, of the cultural and administrative achievements of ancient Andhras. I am sure that this Conference will go a great way towards creating such a consciousness and making our friends realise that more than political manouverings and provincial infatuations, it is our cultural distinctiveness that constitutes our claim to and our responsibility for a separate province. I sincerely wish all success to the Conference and send my hearty greetings to all the friends that gather there. May God grant to us all, a pride that is free from prejudice and a vision that is untainted by vanity.

I am deputing Mr. N. V. R. Krishnamacharya, M. A. our Telugu Lecturer, to represent this College in the Conference. He has done extensive research in Andhra History and is now engaged in writing the History of South India in Telugu, embodying the latest researches. He would be glad to take part in the proceedings of the Conference and I am sure his contribution will be appreciated.

I have already remitted to you Rs. 25/- as our contribution. When the volume gets ready, please send us a copy. Likewise I renew my request for the copies of the other volumes already issued.

Wishing you once again every success.

I remain,

Affectionately yours,

P. RamaSwamy.

College Principal

REPORT OF THE HON. LIBRARIAN

for the year 1946—47.

Printing of the revised catalogue, and housing the Library properly were the programmes drafted for last year.

Owing to the strikes in the press and other difficulties the catalogue could not be printed. Hence, the money was used for purchasing (Military Store) Almyrahs 5 for Rs. 160/- library equipments e.g. tables, boxes for keeping copper plates and palm-leaf manuscripts and chairs for Rs. 140/- and for binding Journals Rs. 31-4-0 and for purchasing books a sum of Rs. 130/- was spent. In all nearly Rs. 470/- was spent for Library furniture, binding and other equipments. So the Government was requested to increase the Library grant to buy more periodicals and for binding old ones, for printing catalogues and for preservation of Library books and palm-leaf manuscripts from being eaten by insects or spoiled by bad weather conditions. A sum of Rs. 200/- only was paid by Government for improving the Library.

(Sd.) A. NARASIMHA RAO

Hon. Librarian,

13—4—1947

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.
Statement of Receipts and Payments from 1—4—'46 to 31—3—'47.

RECEIPTS				Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.	
To OPENING BALANCES										
Cash-on-hand.	16	11	5							
Postage on hand.	2	3	3							
Cash in Banks:										
Andhra Bank S. B. Account	389	7	3							
Aryapuram Co-operative Urban Bank Ltd.	74	3	3							
Post Office S.B. Account	13	1	6							
SUBSCRIPTIONS from members.										
Contributions from Associations Etc.	230	8	0							
DONATIONS										
From Maharaja of Vizianagaram for purchase of house & Site.	13000	0	0							
Sri Nyapati Kameswarao Garu.	2000	0	0							

" Less already adjusted in previous audit A/c.	3	2	3	8	10	6	" Travelling Expenses	178	0	0
" Advance recovered.				4	0	0	" Audit Fees	15	0	0
" Sale of Typewriter				100	0	0	" Postage including 2-3-3 opening balance as per last account			
" Ground Rent				432	0	0	" Typing Charges	141	6	3
" Loans Borrowed				12921	0	0	" Cost of house and Site including incidental charges	2	0	0

PAYMENTS

By ESTABLISHMENT

	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.				
Salary to Clerk	284	4	1				" Interest on borrowings	16134	3	6
Rent and Lighting	140	10	0				" House Repairs	173	9	6
Printing Charges	528	6	0				" Cost of cycle purchased	342	5	0
Binding Charges	49	4	0				" Cycle repairs and licence	152	11	0
Vengi Day celebrations	298	2	0				" Loans repaid	2	12	0
Vizianagaram Day celebrations							CLOSING BALANCE	12921	0	0
Purchase of Books	724	11	6				Cash on hand	317	6	4
Purchase of furniture	137	11	0				Andhra Banks. B. A/C.	390	12	3
Cost of Typewriter	300	0	0				Arvaputram Co-op. Urban Bank	75	10	9
Misc Items (Vide Audit Report)	100	0	0				Innespet Postal S.B. A/c.	13	1	6
	344	8	6				Total	796	14	10
								33767	7	2

Rajahmundry,
16-10-1947

Hon. Treasurer.
K. J. GOPALA RAO, B.A., B.L.,

Hon. Secretary.
R. SUBBA RAO, M.A.L.T., M.E.S. (Retd)

Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.

AUDIT REPORT

We have examined the above statement of Receipts and payments for the year ending 31-3-47 with the books and records relating thereto and we certify that the same is correct subject to the following:—

1. Stock is said to have been maintained in respect of the society's publications. As this is a source of income to the Society, We beg to suggest the maintenance of the same with proper valuations. The Stock is not verified by us.

2. A schedule of assets with valuations owned by the Society is advisable for the preparation of a Balance sheet and Income and Expenditure account to Exhibit the correct state of affairs of the Society as the same has now acquired a permanent building.

3. During the year under audit, the following assets were acquired as separately shown in the above statement.

1. Books.	139	11	0
2. Furniture.	300	0	0
3. Second hand Type- writer. (This was sold during the year.)	100	0	0
4. House & Site	16,134	3	6
5. Cycle.	152	11	0
	<hr/>		
Total	16,826	9	6

4. During the year under audit, an amount of Rs. 12921 was borrowed and repaid with interest of Rs. 183-9-6. It is said that there is no balance payable under this head. The title deeds regarding the purchase of house and site have been verified.

5. An amount of Rs. 432 was received as ground rent from 1-3-47 to 29-2-48 from Messers Vaccum Oil Company Ltd.

Rajahmundry,
16-9-1947.

For RAO & Co.,
P. VENKATRAO.
Registered Accountant.

EXCHANGES.

1. Andhra Sahitya Parishad Patrica, Coconada
2. Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A.
3. Epigraphia Indica, New Delhi.
4. Andhra Mahila, Madras.
5. Ananda Vani, Madras.
6. Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
7. Jaina Gazette, Ajitasaramam, Lucknow.
8. Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
9. Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.
10. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Patna.
11. Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum.
12. Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
13. Journal of the Historical Society, Exchange Buildings, Bombay.
14. Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Calcutta.
15. Commerce and Industry, New Delhi.
16. Bharati, Madras.
17. Journal of the United Provinces Research Society, Lucknow.
18. Andhra Silpi, No. 10, Narasingapuram Street, Mount Road, Madras.
19. Journal of the Bombay University, Bombay
20. Karnataka Sahitya Parishat Patrica, Bangalore
21. Journal of Kalinga Historical Research Society, Balangir.
22. Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Society, Tri-hur.
23. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Colombo.
24. Maha Bodhi, 4-A, College Square, Calcutta.
25. Sodha Patrica, Udaipur, Rajaputana.
26. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore
27. Journal of Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.
28. Annual Report & Memoirs of the Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.
29. Grihalakshmi, Madras.
30. Annual Report of Archaeological Dept., Govt. of India, New Delhi.
31. Annual Report of Archaeological Department of Travancore, Trivandrum.
32. Annual Report of Smithsonian Society, Washington, U.S.A.
33. Annual Report of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
34. Bharata Itihasa Samodhaka Mandal, 314, Sadasivpet, Poona.
35. Gackwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.
36. Report of Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Gwalior.
37. Archaeological Memoirs - Art and History, 3 et 5 Rue De Petti-Port, Paris V.
38. Prabuddha Karnataka, Dharwar.
39. Nagari Pracharini Patrika, Banares.
40. Ann. Bibliography, Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland.
41. Report of the Director of Archaeology, Baroda State.
42. Annual Bulletin of Nagpur Historical Society, Nagpur.
43. Rajasthan Bharati, Bikanir.
44. Bulletin of the School of the Oriental Studies—London University.
45. Le Monde Oriental, Upsala, Sweden.
46. Journal of Sri Vankateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati.
47. Bulletin of the Deccan College and Research Institute, Poona I.
48. "University of Ceylon Review", Colombo, Ceylon.
49. Journal of Andhra History and Culture, Guntur.
50. Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.
51. Bulletin of Music Guiment, 8 Place de Leva, Paris 16, France.
52. Publications of K. C. Kuni Itihasa Mandal, Bahubhongal District, Belgaum.
53. Karnata Sangeetam, Coimbatore.
54. Poona Orientalist, Poona 2.
55. Vijayavani, Bezvada
56. Archive Orientalni,